

[Shri G. M. Banatwalla]

approach, a hesitant approach, towards the principle of election. It should go.

Therefore, my amendment seeks to provide that the relevant association should elect the number required to be nominated and those elected by the relevant association should be nominated on the Press Council.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr Banatwalla, do you want more time or you will finish with a sentence or two?

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: I am still to speak on two more amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then you may continue your speech on a later date when it is taken up.

16.00 hrs.

#### MOTION RE. INCREASING PLAY OF MONEY POWER IN ELECTIONS

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the House will take up Mr. Unnikrishnan's motion.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Bada-gara): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House is of the opinion that increasing play of money power in elections pose grave threat to the future of Parliamentary Democracy as evidenced by the recent revelations of collection of huge election funds by some important persons including Ministers and those who are in proximity to high offices of power and decision making."

Sir, I rise to move this motion with great sorrow and anger and also with deep concern because in recent months and weeks this country has gone through many traumatic experiences which come across the history of nations on very few occasions. But this country went through a crisis of confidence in ability to run its democratic institutions which the people of India had earned for themselves through their national struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Now, Sir, I am deeply worried not only about the troubled present but also about the future. Sir, you are probably familiar with a term, in Greek terminology they call it 'Catharsis'. Has this country and its democratic institutions come to this moment of catharsis. We have lived through these experiences—as I have noted—and we thought in March 1977 at a moment of decisive intervention by dumb millions that things would be set right. A new order was born, it was announced from house tops by Jayaprakash Narayan, by Morarji Desai, by Chandra Shekhar

and even though it was a conglomerate which had come into power they went to Rajghat to seek inspiration.

As I recall, one other vow which was taken was to cleanse the public life and to fight corruption. A man, who, we thought was an apostle of the new regime, an apostle of fearlessness, took over as Prime Minister of this country. He had a long and distinguished record as a fighter in the freedom movement, long record of administrative experience in various capacities. But what we thought he had more than all these was certain moral fibre. He claims to be the disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and he has been associated with him. We had a Home Minister who is absent today—the then Home Minister—who repeatedly told this House that we shall not rest till corruption is totally knocked out and destroyed. We thought, here was a new crusader. Commissions were set up. Cases were filed against what was known and what was publicised as criminal activities of the previous Prime Minister, the caucus around her. And the list did not end there. It was extended in an act of megalomania to many others. I recall that one of those cases was the way the congress party collected its election funds or funds in general. We had expressed the hope on our side that at last a new nation would emerge out of this with its moral fibre strengthened.

But, Sir, today where are we? The Indian National Congress did not accept the political base of the Janata party or its thrust and attitudes to various national and international questions and many other policies that were proclaimed. But we said this. I recall the Resolution of the AICC in May 1977 that we shall not shield corruption, we want to cleanse public life. If we are guilty, through legal means, pronounce us as guilty and punish us. This was the attitude that we took. We hoped that the long awaited reform of elections would come. We hoped that the campaign against corruption in high places will be taken to its logical end. We hoped that the wheel would have turned a full circle. Today the wheel has again turned.

This conglomerate which took over is in shambles. Its Titans are locked up in a grim battle, not over policies and principles, but over positions of power, over chairs as Raj Narain was fond of saying. He once called Charan Singh, Chair Singh. The Chair Singh is again active. The entire moral worth and credibility of this conglomerate, as Babu Jagjivan Ram has called it, is in shambles. It is eroded. The hopes and the dreams and the aspiration of the people of this country who fought for you and who thought that distortions will be corrected, are shattered today. Why should this country traverse this path,

this trajectory? That is my concern today, Sir. Sometime ago there was what is known as a correspondence between the Prime Minister and the then Home Minister Mr. Charan Singh. It was reported in the press that the allegations treated in these letters may not be specific but the thrust of the correspondence was that things have to be enquired into that a belief, strong belief or conviction is there in high places that corruption has entered the *sanctum sanctorum*. It is very unfortunate that we should be discussing this issue and this Parliament should be concerned day in and day out with these issues, which I will say, are peripheral issues. We are discussing this issue, which is important for our functioning, but this House has no time to discuss basic questions of our economic life, economic policy. I would say that this Government and the Prime Minister are responsible for the situation, for having brought this House to this situation, because the opposition in a parliamentary democracy has a function to perform. The attitude of high and mighty that the Prime Minister took and his Party took has forced the opposition into this position, which is not very natural position, not very important from the long-term perspective of the country, but you have compelled us to take this position.

After this correspondence, Shri Virendera Kapur of Indian Express brought out a story—I will come to other stories later—that Shri Madhu Limaye, General Secretary of the Janata Party—I do not know whether he has resigned or is still there—has said that Rs. eighty lakhs or more were collected by Shri Kanti Desai towards the election funds of the Party. Shri C. B. Gupta, the treasurer of Janata Party, said that it was not Rs. eighty lakhs, but Rs. ninety lakhs and I had said that it was neither Rs. eighty lakhs nor Rs. ninety lakhs, but it could be anywhere around Rs. one and a half crores. Shri Madhu Limaye later took a position that he would neither deny nor confirm it. He has not denied it, all that he would say that he would neither deny nor confirm it. This revelation is of crucial significance.

In March 1977 and later in June 1977, when elections were held to the State Assemblies, Shri K. Santhanam, who was the Chairman of the first Committee for Electoral Reforms, who had been exercised over these things as a patriot for a long time....

AN. HON. MEMBER : That Committee was concerned with elimination of corruption.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN :... charged the Janata Party with extorting money by using unfair means. The reply came from the Party Chairman, Shri Chandra Shekhar, that they had never asked

any of their Ministers to collect money and Shri C. B. Gupta, treasurer of Janata Party said that they had not asked any one, only authorised persons were collecting the funds. Mark the word 'authorised'. This was on May 24, 1977. He said: "Only authorized persons." When he was asked to disclose as to who were these authorized persons, he said that 'it was an internal affair of his party.'

I do not want to take the position today that parliamentary democracy, our institutions and the electoral system or the party structures that we have inherited due to historical circumstances, can be run without money. I am not taking that position at all. And these were some of the debates that we had in the past in the Congress organization itself. But the basic question is not only one which concerns the immediate present, but also one which concerns the future. Immediately we are confronted with a party which, having come to power, having taken a pledge at the *Samadhi* of Mahatma Gandhi and entered the portals of power, is now in shambles. Not only that; its moral worth and credibility have been eroded. It is not merely a question of collecting election funds. It is the means which have been used in collecting these funds, as well as the nexus between administrative actions and collection of these funds, as also collections by unauthorised persons, which breeds corruption in the whole system. There lies the crux of the matter.

As I said earlier, Commissions of enquiry have been set up and many, including Mr. P. C. Sethi who was treasurer of our party, are still facing similar charges. I do not want to go into details, because some of them are *sub judice*. This is the time when this House should assert itself, to guide us, because the party which came to power on the same platform, after a prolonged agitation in Bihar and Gujarat—which, according to Jayaprakash Narain centred around the theme of corruption in high places—is in such a state that its moral worth has further deteriorated. So, in an environment like this, it is time that this House intervenes effectively and decisively, no matter who is involved, and says: "We shall not go back to the situation where we came from." It is in this spirit that I look to this Motion to-day.

When allegations are made, the obvious reaction should be that one cannot judge oneself. That is the basis of our functioning or the basis of any kind of functioning. I do not want to call it juristic; it is basic, simple, commonsense.

What are these allegations? I shall take one allegation, *viz.* that Mr. Kanti Desai collected Rs. 80 lakhs or Rs. 90 lakhs: figures are not that relevant, but the fact

remains that — it is admitted that large sections of people in this country believe that — he collected not only funds, but also that it has not been fully accounted for. The question is also whether he had the permission, because he is in close proximity to the highest centre of decision-making in this country. Mr. Morarji Desai has gone on record as saying that he (Mr. Kanti Desai) terminated his business connections as early as in 1964. On 30th July 1968, in reply to Mr Umanath and Mr Madhu Limaye he told this House — and I quote — "Let him know that my son has given up business from the year 1964, and not now." But subsequently it was known that he continued in this business. So, possibly it could be that because he was involved in that business in the past and had been in the business contact, the Janata Party decided to make use of his good offices. But the trouble here is that he is not a nobody. I do not dispute his right as a citizen or a political worker; if he wants to enter into politics and remain in politics, I do not dispute it at all nor do I say that the Party should not collect funds.

But, as I said, his activities have bred corruption; his activities have led to what Justice Shah called "Deviation from established administrative procedure" for which the people are being arraigned. It means subverting the established administrative procedure and misuse of authority. This is the crux of the problem.

Now I am happy that the Finance Minister is here. I do not want to go into lot of things because there are lot of things to be talked about what is going on in his Ministry from March 1977 to this day. But I only want to mention a few things. You are aware of the situation of the Central Board of Direct Taxes. Mr. Kanti Desai, one fine morning, last year, landed in Calcutta. A group of businessmen met him and lobbied the case of Mr. I. P. Gupta and said that he should be appointed as the Chairman of the CBDT. I am told, a substantial amount of Rs. 50 lakhs was donated to Janata Party's fund as a *quid pro quo* for making Mr. I. P. Gupta as the Chairman of the CBDT.

Now, Mr. Kanti Desai, as an experienced businessman who keeps his words, had to promote his candidature when the post of Chairman fell vacant. The appointment is of the rank of the Additional Secretary to the Government of India and governs the rules made by this House, according to the Central Board Act of 1953. The order of seniority for this post was: (1) Mr. Kailash Narain, (2) Mr. I. P. Gupta and (3) M. Kuruvilla for reasons I have explained. The choice of Mr. Kanti Desai fell on Mr. I. P. Gupta. But the Central Vigilance Commissioner was investigating certain serious allegations against Mr.

Gupta. The Finance Secretary approached the Central Commissioner Mr. Pimpurkar who refused to submit to the plaudiments of the messengers and couriers of Mr. Kanti Desai. Mr. Kailash Narain was overruled for Janata Party's political views; and the Finance Secretary then suggested and the Finance Minister and the Minister of State endorsed it on the file that Mr. Kuruvilla be considered. The Prime Minister was away in Kashmir. But Mr. Kanti Desai did not stop, conscious as he was of his commitment to his friends who were pressing him. After this again the Finance Secretary was sent to C.V.C. — All this can be checked up — to revise its opinion about Mr. Gupta but he refused to do so. The dates of his meeting also are important.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Two hours time had been allotted; you can take half an hour; you have already taken 25 minutes. You have to look at the watch also.

AN HON. MEMBER: Time will be extended.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: There were other members. I shall cut short my observations because there are many other kisas also — members like Mr. Srinivasan, Avtar Singh etc. on the Board. Mr. Badami for whom I have personally high regard and I hold him in great esteem, who was in charge of forfeited property was brought in. When it went to the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet he was not a member of the Board. According to the Gazette of India January 1, 1964 notification of the ministry of finance rule No. 3, it says: The Central Government may by notification in the Official Gazette appoint one of the members to be chairman. I do not think the Appointments Committee was told about this. He was appointed straightaway, asked simultaneously to become a member and then take over as chairman. CBDT and settlement commissions have been important arenas of Kanti Desai's operations. I want an enquiry; I challenge this government to conduct an enquiry; how many settlements have been effected since April 1977 till October 1977 and then from November 1977 to June 1978? How many violations were there? Clause 245 (d) of the Income-tax Act of 1961 says: sub-section 1, proviso (3) of 245: Provided further that an application shall not be proceeded with under this sub section if the commissioner objects to the application, being proceeded with on the ground that concealment of particulars of income on the part of the applicant or perpetration of a fraud by him evading any tax or other sums chargeable or assessable under income-tax has been established or is likely to be established before any income-tax authority.

section 30 the Official Secrets Act. Please How many fraud cases have been settled? There are clear implications. I do not want to mention names because of shortness of time. How many cases have been decided against the clear cut advice of the Commissioners, particularly in Bombay circle and in Ahmedabad circle. I do not want on this occasion to refer to some firms—because that is outside the scope—with which the Finance Minister was earlier connected or firms with which the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Shankar was connected. That is outside the scope, I presume. What I want to know is: tell us the donors to the Janata Party election funds; give us the accounts; then tell us—the House and the country are entitled to know—how they have been favoured by the income-tax and CBDT and settlement commissions.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your half an hour is over. You know the total time is two hours.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: I have to tell you more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You must finish in five minutes.

SHRI VINODBHAI B. SHETH (Jamnagar): Ultimately he is going to prove that Janata Members are not interfering in the day to day affairs of the government.

How much of it was in black money?

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much of time do you expect me to give you?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: I will take at least 15 minutes more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How is it possible? Out of two hours if you take 45 minutes, then what about others?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Time may kindly be extended.

In regard to settlement of income tax and wealth tax, what about penalty and prosecution and in how many cases was the interest waived? This is one question. How much was it in black?

On this question of appointment Mr. Morarji Desai, who happens to be the Prime Minister now, once recalled the advice that he gave to the then Governor of Bombay in 1939—Sir Roger Lumley who had approached the then Revenue Minister with the request that somebody be appointed for some minor post. Mr. Desai asked him how dare you ask me to do this. I am not going to do it. But, unfortunately, when Kanti proposes, things are different. Now, I do not want to go into various questions like Polyester Filament Yarn, C.P.M.O., and how they are connec-

ted. But I must tell you something of which I have the privilege to bring about, regarding Hinduja Bros. A very important question has arisen out of this. That is not the question of 11 million dollars, which I have brought before the House and the Prime Minister's Secretariat, I allege, was requesting the President of India to get invited for the banquet, latest on this last trip of Mr. Kanti Desai or the Prime Minister's trip. Hinduja were consorting with him in Hotel Beaurivage in Geneva. It has been the scene for money collections—unauthorised collections in foreign exchange. Not merely Hinduja, there are chibis in Westbury in London. How much was collected in the last trip, i.e. in 1977? Janata Party and the Government of India, do they know how much has been collected not merely through their independent contacts, not in Indian currency but in foreign exchange?

Now, what is relevant is, I refer to the Central Vigilance Commissioner's latest Report, wherein there is a very interesting case regarding Hinduja Bros. An Indo-Iranian firm produces a film called 'Subah aur Sham' and without the knowledge of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and Customs Clearance Permit was brought to India. It was changed and was made a film. This happened during Sanjay Gandhi's days. But the point is the officials were proceeded against as a result of C.B.I. enquiry, not the Hinduja. To this day no prosecution has been launched.

Now I refer to the Hindu Report of July 24, 1978. Heading—P.M. Tops Slush Payment. What was this payment of \$ 450 million? What was this contract of \$ 450 million? Was it the same that Kanti discussed with Hinduja in Hotel Beaurivage, we want to know? That is an access. The source is these corrupt links. Now, investigations were held in another case—Boeing purchases regarding Maneckji. The two serious things to which I want to draw your attention are these. On 30th September, 1977, in spite of his friend Shri Kanti Desai being in a position of power and influence, he had to be charge-sheeted because it was linked with other VIPs of the former regime. In the FIR submitted to Mr. Kotwal, the Additional Chief Metropolitan Magistrate of Bombay, under section 56 of FERA of 1973, two lines of enquiry were to be pursued. One was that Commandant-General Maneckji and his younger brother, Kekoo used part of the money to promote the sale of Boeing aircraft by bribing Cabinet Ministers and highly-placed Government officials. The second was that Mr. Kekoo Maneckji received unauthorised information of a secret nature relating to the development and acquisition of defence aircraft and stores in our country, which is punishable under Section 3



[Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan]

of the Official Secrets Act. Please refer to page 84 of the CBI report for 1977 placed on the Table of the House, where what I have read out has been substantiated. I would like to know what has happened. The moment the investigation reached the point of Kanti-Shankar axis, the investigation was stopped and has found itself in a blind alley! How much money has come through, Mr. Haridas Mundhra should be able to tell us. He is another new friend. I do not want to go into all these details. It does not end there. The kissa of Janata misrule and corruption that they are breeding in this country, all in the name of election funds, does not end here. There was the question of impounding of passports in April, 1977. I would like to know how the passports of Mr. Raunaq Singh of Raunaq International were returned. Who was lawyer Juneja who approached the close relatives of the then Home Minister and get it out for a consideration? Mr. Charan Singh has always been very vehement on the issue of corruption. Speaking in this House on 13th July, 1977 he said:

"Corruption is prevailing from top to bottom. Political leaders and Ministers are not also free from it. The moral fibre in this country has completely collapsed." But he allowed his son-in-law that is the tragedy of this country what do you do with them?—to interfere in the cases of impounding of passports of criminals and racketeers who abound in this country? Armed racketeers are now around because we are considering the purchase of DPSA and Mr. Kanti Desai cannot deny that he met the racketeers Chibber Brothers in Westbury Hotel in London. I am making that charge.

I do not see the former Health Minister here unfortunately. He should have been here. We are entitled to know from him how much money was collected by his Special Assistant, Mr. Chitrangad Singh. It is a very amusing story, the collections made by his Special Assistant.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You should conclude now.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Before I conclude I would like to say some thing about this Mr. Chitra Anged Singh.

बीचरी बलवीर सिंह (होबियापुर): यह धर्म सेवा रही नहीं था, जो जिससे इन्दिरा गांधी निक कोट मिला था ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:

श्री के० पी० उन्नीकृष्णन : इस जुलाई में हीटल बुरबाज, जेनेवा में शंकर साहब और कॉर्नि देसाई जिससे मिले थे, वही धर्म सेवा ।

Mr. Raj Narain had a very colourful Private Secretary or Special Assistant Known as Mr. Chitra Angad Singh. It is rumoured that an enquiry is going on. Mr. Chitra Angad Singh was not merely colourful but he also understood the requirements of political finance of his mentor and his group. He used many ordinary and extraordinary means. One of them is very amusing. There were three Persian carpets belonging to a VIP which on a fine March morning of 1977 found its way to Vishwayatan Yogashram. Swami Dharendra Brahmachari tried to take them out but by that time, he had come under surveillance. So, they got stuck there at Vishwayatan Yogashram. Mr. Raj Narain appointed an Administrator of this Ashram a man called Chhatrasal Singh from UP who has nothing to do with yoga but every thing to do with Chitra Angad Singh. One fine morning, all the carpets including these carpetworth lakhs of rupees, kumbhals, mattresses lock, stock and barrel were removed from the Ashram. Many have been returned but not these expensive carpets.

The whole question is one of standards. We had set up certain standards in this country because Mr. K. D. Malaviya's Personal Assistant was found having collected Rs. 10000/-. An inquiry commission was set up. It was scrutinised. An inquiry was held by a Supreme Court Judge. He resigned. These were the standards we had set for ourselves in this country. Now, Sir, I want the Prime Minister to be remembered in this country, remembered by posterity not a father who showed infirmity at a crucial moment of his own life and the life of this country, but I want him to be remembered, as I said, as an apostle of fearlessness who came from Raj Ghat, went to define certain standards of public conduct to strengthen the moral fibre of this country. This is what is lacking today. I recall what he told this House on 9-12-74. This is what power corrupts. I quote :

"I hope the Prime Minister will realise it if not today some day, it will have to be realised."

I hope, Morarji Bhai will not abdicate his commitment. I hope, he will not abdicate his position of responsibility or what he owes to this country which has put him where he is. I have not said this out of a perverse love. I have not said his out of personal prejudiced. But if you want to cleanse the system, you will have to. And about this I shall come back in my reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved :

"That this House is of the opinion that increasing play of money power in elections pose grave

threat to the future of Parliamentary Democracy as evidenced by the recent revelations of collection of huge election funds by some important persons including Ministers and those who are in proximity to high officers of power and decision making."

Now, amendments will have to be moved.

SHRI NIRMAL CHANDRA JAIN (Secni) : I beg to move :

"That in the motion,—

after "evidenced" insert—

"since the elections of 1971 and"" (1)

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : I beg to move :

"That in the motion,—

add at the end—

"and recommends to the Government to bring forward expeditiously legislation by which all political parties in the country should be registered under the Registration of Societies Act, 1860 (as amended up-to-date) and should maintain accounts of all their receipts revealing their sources and expenditure supported by stamped vouchers and publish annually a statement of receipts and expenditures duly audited and certified by a chartered accountant which should be published in the Gazette of the Government of India." (2)

SHRI SHANKAR DEV (Bidar) : I beg to move :

"That in the motion,—

after "Parliamentary Democracy" insert—

"and to the highest Indian traditions and culture." (3)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Kamath.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hosangabad) : I had given notice of a substitute motion. I do not know why it is shown as an amendment. Is it permissible or not as a substitute motion?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You can only move an amendment.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I gave notice of a substitute motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Office informs me that it will be in the form of an amendment itself to substitute that.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I have no objection. I beg to move :

"That in the motion,—

add at the end—

"and expresser its grave concern over the fact that the electoral process as well as public life in India which was badly polluted and vitiated by an unholy alliance of political power and money power during the decadent decade, 1967—77, with the steep erosion of ethical standards and moral values, threatened to distort democracy into a plutocracy deform 'Janatantra' into 'Dhanatantra' and recognizes the imperative need to reverse those morbid trends and is convinced that for the purpose the formulation of a voluntary code of conduct by all political parties is essential and urges the Government to initiate, without delay, comprehensive measures with a view to cleansing public life in general and purifying the electoral process in particular." (4)

DR. RAMJI SINGH (Bhagalpur) : I beg to move :

"That in the motion,—

for "as evidenced by the recent revelations of collection of huge election funds by some important persons including Ministers and those who are in proximity to high officers of power and decision making."

substitute—

"and directs the Government to refer the matter to the Chief Justice of India to ascertain whether there is a *prima facie* case for a thorough probe under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, and further directs the Government to bring suitable legislation before the House to ban collection of election funds from business houses by any body." (5)

श्री गौरी शंकर राय (याजोपुर) : मान्यवर, आज सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत है वह एक बड़े गम्भीर प्रश्न से संबन्धित है। जो मेरे विचार इसको मूक करने वाले हैं वे शुरु में तो ठीक रहे लेकिन अन्त में उन्होंने इस विषय को छोड़ कर बड़ी लम्बी दीड़ लगाई जिस पर मैं जाना नहीं चाहता। यह प्रश्न बहुत पुराने समय से चला

[श्री श्रीरंजन शंकर राय]

था रहा है कि मंत्री और सरकार में जो लोग हैं उनके पद का प्रयोग बाधा बहुत करने में कैसे नहीं होगा और यह जो मंत्री है वह किस प्रकार से राजनीति को प्रभावित न करे—इसका प्रयास बहुत पहले से हुआ है। सन् 1960 में इस प्रकार की बात आई थी लेकिन पं० नेहरू ने इसका विरोध किया था और चन्दा लेने की बात उन्होंने रखी। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1969 में चन्दा लेने के ऊपर जो पाबंदी लगाई गई तब हमारे मित्रों का पाबंदी लगाने का मतलब यह था कि धान बूक चन्दा न लिया जाये। इसके दो नतीजे निकले। एक नतीजा तो यह निकला कि ब्लैक मनी धाने गया और दूसरा नतीजा यह निकला कि पार्टियों का हिमाय देना बन्द हो गया क्योंकि ब्लैकमनी जो पार्टी थी उसका हिमाय देने के लिए वे मजबूर नहीं थे। मैं कांग्रेस की परम्पराओं को भी जानता हूँ क्योंकि हम कोई दूर के नहीं हैं, हमारा भी रिश्ता रहा है। जबसे चन्दा बैंक हुआ तब से रसीद से रुपया न धा करके श्रीकैम पालिटिक्स प्रारम्भ हो गई हमारे उन्नीकृष्णन और चम्पाण माहब जैसे बिबेकानन्दों की बात मैं नहीं करता, मैं श्रद्धियों की बात नहीं करना चाहता, मैं साधारण कांग्रेसीयन की बात करता हूँ कि सबसे श्रीकैम पालिटिक्स शुरू हो गई। उसमें ब्लैकमनी का प्रभाव धाने लगा और वह बन पड़ा। पिछले 8-10 साल, 1969 के बाद की जो कांग्रेस रही है, उसके धाकड़ों में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता लेकिन धमकी मेरे सामने जो धाकड़े हैं इनमें अगर किसी ने चन्दा लिया तो मेरा खयाल है कि दम प्रतिफल में कम से सारे दम है और 90 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा में उस समय कांग्रेस के लोगों ने चन्दा लिया। फर्क यह था कि कांग्रेस में कई प्रकार के लोग थे—कुछ प्रगतिशील थे और कुछ प्रतिक्रियावादी थे। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता लेकिन प्रगतिशील की परिभाषा जो की जाती है—

A progressive is a man who can digest money from Russia. A reactionary is a man who can digest money from the dollar area. A dynamic person is one who can digest money from both places most effectively. And there were dynamic people, they conducted the whole country's finances and elections.

इस प्रस्ताव में एक शब्द जो लिखा है, हम चाहते हैं उस पर बहुत ही लेकिन हमारे मित्र ने प्रस्ताव को पर्वट कर दिया। उन्होंने कहा रेविलेन्स हुए हैं। श्री उन्नीकृष्णन को अब मालूम हुआ है कि प्रभावशाली लोग चन्दा इकट्ठा किए करते थे। इससे पहले इनको यह बात मालूम नहीं थी। चम्पाण साहब ने स्वयं में भी नहीं देखा कि चन्दा भी लिया जाता है। यह हरिजन प्रेमी थे इसलिए भीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और चम्पाण साहब सारा चन्दा हरिजन बस्ती से ले धाते थे और सारे देश में बाट देते थे। इन प्रकार से सत्त समापन चलता था। मैं इसके लिए कोई शब्द कहना

नहीं चाहता, एक तो इंसट्रूक्शन बाधनी होता है हिन्दी का शब्द अच्छा नहीं होता, "हत्यावार" धनपार्लैमेण्टरी हो जायेगा। आप देखें कि किस साहब के साथ चन्दा लेने की परम्परा का विरोध करते हैं।

कस्टम वाली जो बात है, उन्होंने कहा कि कॉलिट आई उसमें आपरेट करते हैं। मेरा खयाल है मेरे मित्र को उस क्षेत्र में बड़ी जानकारी है क्योंकि उसका हम जवाब नहीं दे सकते हैं। उन का कन्स्टम से ज्यादा मालूम है, इसलिए वह जानते होंगे,....

श्री सीतल राय : (बैरकपुर) : इनकम टैक्स की बात है।

श्री श्रीरंजन शंकर राय : इनकम टैक्स के बारे में भी मुझे जानकारी नहीं है, क्योंकि मैं गांव का बाधनी हूँ। इनकम टैक्स धाकिमर, कौन है, मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन एक का तो मर्यादा करना है, बड़े धादरणीय हैं। लेकिन किन्तु धादरणीय है या किन्तु प्रणिन है—मैं नहीं जानता और जान भी नहीं सकता हूँ—क्योंकि मैं प्रोपेसिब भी नहीं हूँ, रिप्लायनरी भी नहीं हूँ और डाइनेमिक भी नहीं हूँ—इस विषये नहीं जान सकता हूँ।

मैं निवेदन कर रहा था—धात्र मदन के सामने जो गम्भीर प्रश्न विचारार्थ है—रेविलेन्स में यह प्रवृत्ति नहीं बदलेगी, एक्स्प्लेनर में यह प्रवृत्ति नहीं बदलेगी। कालिदास ने चन्दा मांगा, जनता पार्टी ने चन्दा मांगा, सरकार में जो लोग हैं उन्होंने चन्दा मांगा, राजनारायण जी ने चन्दा मांगा लेकिन ये जो चन्दे ने पूना करने वाले लोग हैं—मैं अपने विरोधी दलों के मित्रों में और खाम तोर से माटे साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ—धाप की माताजी को भी चन्दे से नफरत है, तो मैं इस चन्दे से नफरत करने वालों में कहना चाहता हूँ—एक साथ बैठ कर हम पर विचार करें, अपने सीने पर हाथ रख कर विचार करें—क्या हम समस्या का कोई समाधान हो सकता है? इस समस्या का समाधान एक्स्प्लेनर में नहीं होगा। यह कहना मगल है कि नई रेविलेन्स हुए हैं। मैं चन्दे से नफरत करने वाले मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ—यह परम्परा प्रारम्भिक काल से है, जब से कांग्रेस पावर में आई, चन्दा मांगती रही। फर्क सिर्फ इतना है—सी० बी० गुना जैसे जो पुराने रिप्लायनरी सीड्स रहे हैं, वे रसीद दे कर चन्दा लिया करते थे, लेकिन अब से प्रगतिशील हो गये, तब से रसीद और पुर्जे की जरूरत ही नहीं रही।

मैं धाप के जरिये अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ—इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करने के लिये बैठिये—सबवार में छव जायगा, इतना काफी नहीं है। हिन्दी जा बोलते के बारे में चम्पाण साहब से पूछिये। वह विदेश मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री रह चुके हैं—धाप उन को साहब के साथ कहना चाहिये कि उस का व्यवहार क्या था। मिनिज गांधी उस को धकेले टैक्स नहीं किया

कली थी, उन को भी इस की बोड़ी-बहुत जानकारी  
ब्रबस होगी ....

बी सोमर राय : प्रूफ लाइये ।

श्री गोरी मंकर राय : प्रूफ की क्या जरूरत है, यह कोई प्रदान नहीं है । मैं तो भले बादमी के लिये यह बात कह रहा हूँ—जो उस को महसूस करने के लिये तैयार है । यह कह देने से कि इन्होंने चन्दा वसूल किया, उन्होंने चन्दा वसूल किया, इस से काम नहीं चलेगा । आप ने अपने भाषण में एक भी ऐसा सुझाव नहीं दिया कि इन को कैसे ठीक किया जाय । चन्दा वसूल करना कोई नई बात नहीं है, यह प्रवृत्ति प्राम्थ से ही थी । जब हमारा राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन चल रहा था, तब भी देश के पुरोहितों ने राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में चन्दा दे कर हमारे महापुरुषों को भी, लेकिन उस समय पावर उन के पास नहीं थी, इसीलिये करगान का प्रसर नहीं पड़ा । उन के बाद १० जवाहर लाल नेहरू के जमाने में भी पुरोपति चन्दा देते थे, इन्दिरा गांधी के जमाने में, बूँक बहू प्रगतिशील और डाइनेमिक थी, इस लिये वह आपका तक चला गया । मैं अपने चन्दा विते हुए मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ—उन्होंने अपने समय में इस परम्परा को बड़ा बीजम् रूप दिया । महापति महाशय, १९७७ में जब पार्लियामेंट के चुनाव हुए मैं विश्वास के साथ कहना हूँ—हमारी पार्टी के पास एक रणनीति भी देने के लिये नहीं था । सीधे मैं चन्दा देकर हम को चुनाव मकाया था । मैं यह नहीं कहना कि इस तरह सब समस्याओं विते हुए हैं या वह चन्दा नहीं लेते । लेकिन मैं अपने भाई उन्नीकरण और चण्डाण माहब से कहना चाहता हूँ—एक कस्मिम इलाक बोजिये कि बिम तरह, मैं उस समस्या का समाधान होगा । लेकिनलेजन में इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता ।

१९६९ में आपने मेजिमेंशन बनाया, लेकिन उस मेजिमेंशन से आपने ब्लैक-मनी को व्यापार मुक्त कर दिया, और-बाजारी का पैसा राजनीतिक फण्ड में घाने लगा । मैं एक पुरानी डिबेट पढ़ रहा था—उसमें लिखा था—

The Government of the people by the industrialists and for the industrialists.

ऐसा आपने उस समय किया । मेरे पास समय नहीं है, मैं आपकी तरह से मुध्य बचना नहीं हूँ—वर्ना मैं आपकी बतलाता कि किस प्रकार से कापिस सरकार ने एम एम टी सी के द्वारा कार्ने-आवरन का काम बड़ा कर किन-किन कन्टीड से टन्य आप-मनी लेकर बिदेशी बैंकों में जमा किया । मेरी नाम लेने की भावत नहीं है, लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ—जो लोग अघारिटी में थे—उनका फितना रणिया बिदेशी बैंकों में जमा है । रिफार्ड बिस्वा-बिस्वा कर इन बातों की बतलाता है । मैं एक्सपोजेशन नहीं करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ—अगर सबकुछ में इस समस्या की समस्या के रूप में है—तब ही इसका समाधान निकल सकता है, लेकिन यदि उनका उद्देश्य फानि भाई का नाम

लेना है, तो मैं नाम तो नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन साठे माहब आपकी मासम होगा, आपके यहाँ उमांकर जीवित पहले चन्दा इकट्ठा किया करते थे । पहले आनन्द भवन के ट्रेजरर थे, उसके बाद कापिस के ट्रेजरर हुए और फिर देश के । हमारे यहाँ एक नेशनल हेरल्ड प्रखबार है । इसमें सबकी ब्लैक मनी इनजेक्ट होती रहती है । प्रखबार में बाटा है लेकिन उसकी बिलिंग बनती रही । ब्यक्तिगत रूप से चन्दे से नहीं, पोलिटिक्स के नाम पर ब्लैक मनी मांग करके नेशनल हेरल्ड को सींचा गया जोकि एक परिवार की सम्पत्ति है । उसको सींचा गया । मैं जानता हूँ कि प्राज भी, जो लोग प्रब मक्ति में या पावर में नहीं हैं, इस-दम हजार रुपये महीना खर्च करते हैं । उनमें बहुत से पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी हैं । कहां से यह सब धाना है ? ये सब बातें किस चीज को साबित करती हैं ?

आप प्रधान मंत्री मोरारजी देसाई पर हमला करिये लेकिन सीमें के घर में रहने वाले लोग ऐसा हमला न करें । आप प्रसर करना चाहते हैं तो इस दृष्टि से करो कि कोई सुझाव रखो जिससे सब लोग मिल कर, बैठ कर बात करें । आप प्रधान मंत्री जी से, मंत्रियों से बात करिये । मैं कहूँगा कि चण्डाण माहब बात करें । आपसे आप लोग नहीं जानते कि हिनुका बरस क्या है । यह पुराने मस्तिमंडल में रहने वालों की जानकारी में है, यह उस बरस चंदे की बात है ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को लाकर इस मदन का इस तरह से बुरायाग नहीं होना चाहिए कि कोई बादमी कोई काम शिकायत करने के लिए, जस्टिफिक मोटिव में इसका बुरायाग करे । मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपका कोई शिकायत है तो इस मदन में सभी दलों के लोग मिल कर बैठें और विचार करें कि कैसे इस देश के चरित्र को धण्डा रखना है, कैसे इस देश में चंदे की राजनीति बनगी और कहां तक चलेगी, कहां तक उसकी सीमाबद्ध करना है । इस पर मिल कर सब लोग सोच सकते हैं । यह चीज एक-दूसरे को गाली-गनौज देकर नहीं सोची जा सकती है ।

मान्यवर, हमारे दो टोचर्स थे । एक बड़े विद्वान् थे और दूसरे कुछ कम पड़े निम्ने थे । दूसरे टोचर जब इन्तिहाज होता तो नकाल करने वाले लड़कों को पकड़ निचा करते । उनसे हमारे विद्वान् टोचर कहा करते थे कि तुम बचपन में जरूर नकाल करते होगे तभी नकलियों को पहचान जाते जहो । इसलिए हमारे ये भाई भी जानते हैं कि कहां कहां से चन्दा धाता है, कहां कहां इसके सोत हैं । इनकी १६ भाने बेयुनियाद बात को भी ठंके से हिबकता हूँ क्योंकि इनको सब मालूम है कि कौन कहां कहां नाजुक मोका है । ये बहुत से नाजुक मोकों को जगत हैं । इसलिए मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप इस पर बैठकर विचार कीजिए और सुझाव दीजिए । यह काम कानून बनाने से

[श्री गीरी संकर राय]

होता है तो वह बताइये। यह देश 62 करोड़ का है। देश की कानि भार्दे के अतिरिक्त क्या हर किसी को बंधा मारने से नकल है? आखिर आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं। बाट डू यू बाट टू इन्से अपोन मी? मैं कहता हूँ कि इस सारे मामले पर बैठ कर बिचार कीजिए कि कैसे इस समस्या को हल किया जाए। इस प्रस्ताव का एक हिस्सा अपनी पराकाष्ठा पर चला गया है। जब चव्वाण साहब मंत्रिमंडल में थे तब भी रिजिलेन्स हुए हैं। इसलिए यह कहना कि पंजीपतियों से पैसा लिया गया, इस बात को जायद भी उन्नीकृष्ण जी उतना नहीं जानते जितना कि श्री चव्वाण साहब जानते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सभी दलों के लोग बैठें, एक कांसेन्सस, एक अग्रेस्ट्रिग पर प्रायें कि किस तरह से सार्वजनिक जीवन में एक परम्परा कायम की जाय, मैयार निश्चित रूप में कायम किये जायें। खाली गाली देने से तो यह नहीं होगा। आप इसके लिए मैयार तय कीजिए। यह मैं किसी को किफैड करने के लिए नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं इसलिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप समस्या का समाधान करना चाहते हैं तो बैठ करके इसका हल ढूँँ, वह जरूर निकलेगा।

श्री बल्लभ साठे (भकोला) : सभापति महोदय, मैं गीरीसकर राय जी से सहमत हूँ जो अभी उन्होंने बात कही। यह जो प्रस्ताव मेरे मित्र श्री उन्नीकृष्ण जी ने यहाँ पर रखा है, इस प्रस्ताव से जो सवाल उन्नीकृष्ण उठाया है, उसका हल इस तरह से निकल सकता है यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आयी। (व्यवधान) आपकी भाषी हो तो बताइये। मैं गीरीसकर जी से सहमत हूँ। इसलिए कि चन्दा इकट्ठा हो रहा है और नयी पावर की बहुत बड़ी समस्या है और उससे बहुत पैसा हुआ है, वह प्रभावित करती है और बड़े लोग जो सत्ता में हैं मिनिस्टर हैं उन्हें ज्यादा सहूलियत होती है तो यह बात तो प्राज्ञ से नहीं है। जो मिनिस्टर रहेगा और जो सत्ता में रहेगा स्वाभाविक है चन्दा उसी के पास जाएगा और सत्ता में न रहे तो उसके पास चन्दा नहीं आएगा, यह भी स्वाभाविक बात है। प्राज्ञ सत्ता में नहीं रहे इसलिए शिकायत हो तो बात चल्य है। लेकिन सवाल जैसे राय जी ने कहा, यह है कि इसकी बुनियाद में हमें जाना होगा। बुनियादी बात के लिए आप क्या करना चाहते हैं। कोई नया सिस्टम निकालने वाले हैं जर्मनी में जैसे कि गवर्नमेंट सारा चर्चा इलेक्शन का करती है कैसे होगा? क्या ऐसा सिस्टम आप मुझा रहे हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि यहाँ यह हो नहीं सकता है। जब तक इस देश में जो आर्थिक लाज है, जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था है, जो पूंजीवाद पर आधारित है उसके रहते काला धन बेहिसाब बढ़ता जा रहा है.... (व्यवधान) लाल पगड़ी वाले की समझ आपकी यह बात। वह समाजवादी हैं। हमारे साथी रहे हैं और वह इस बात को जानते हैं। जितनी पूंजी जमा होती जाती है चन्दा लोगों के हाथ में, देश की नेहनत से निर्मित हुई पूंजी जब

चन्द लोगों के हाथ में एकत्रित होती वहाँ काला धन भी पैदा होता है। ऐसी चर्च व्यवस्था में आप चाहें कुछ कर लें तो कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। केन्द्रित चर्च सत्ता होगी तो उसका उपयोग या दुरुपयोग राजनीति को बनाने के लिए कंट्रोल में लाने के लिए किया ही जाएगा। यह हकीकत है, यह वस्तुस्थिति है। आप और हम इसकी बदलने के लिए प्राज्ञ भी तैयार नहीं हैं। जो बैस्टिड इटरेस्ट हैं उनको खरम करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। अन्याय सत्ताओं पर बहुत बड़ी बहल हो सकती है। होता क्या है? हम प्राज्ञों और आप हमारी टोपी उछानने की कोशिश करते हैं। हम कान्ति भार्दे को गालियाँ दे देते हैं और प्राज्ञ संजय को गालियाँ दे देते हैं। यह क्या है।

17:00 hrs.

श्री सौम्य राय (बैरकपुर) : दोनों में मेलजोल हो गया है।

श्री बल्लभ साठे : यही बात चलेगी और इसमें प्राज्ञों सन्तोष है मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। प्राज्ञों साह कमीशन बैठाया। साठे केसिस संजय गांधी पर चलाए। तेरह केसिस इंदिरा जी पर चलाए, मिसमूज थाक पावर, कुरप्शन इन हार्ड प्राफ़िन। पर जब दूसरे का बैठा हो तो खराब, अपना बैठा हो तो सनबा। उसके नाम से बोलो मत, वह दूध का घुना हुआ है, साफ है, वह कोई बदबलन नहीं है, उसकी बात न करो, वह कुरप्शन नहीं करता है लेकिन दूसरे में सभी बुराईयाँ हैं। इससे मामला निपटेंगा नहीं। मैं प्राप्ते पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आपने इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया है?

17:03 hrs.

[DR. SUSHILA NAYAR in the Chair]

चर्च व्यवस्था के बारे में कोई बोलता है क्या? आप और हम किसी की जायद उसकी कुरस्त नहीं है। जब से प्राप्ता सत्ता में आए हैं मुझे बताइये कभी ऐसी चर्चा, कभी ऐसी बैठक हुई है कि बुनियादी परिवर्तन प्राधिक शक्ति में हम कैसे लाए और प्राप्ता हमें चुनौती दें कि बलिये बुनियादी परिवर्तन लाना है, ये जो बैस्टिड इटरेस्ट हैं, कपिटलिज्म क जो गड़ हैं, जो जम कर बैठ गए हैं सीने पर इस देश के इनको खरम करना है, चलो यह हमारा प्रोथाम है जिसको बेनेज समझना चाहिये और प्राप्ता इस प्रोथाम को चलाएँ। कोई बात हुई? इस बात पर चर्चा नहीं होगी। इस बात पर प्राप्ता की फुलत नहीं है क्योंकि प्राप्ता उन्हें धक्का नहीं लगा सकते। बैस्टिड इटरेस्ट हैं, 20 हजार करोड़ ब्लेक मनी जिनके कन्ने में हैं और वह भी दो, तीन हजार लोगों के हाथ में हो तो वह कैसे इस देश में नहीं खरीद सकते हैं? सारी टोपी व्यूरोक्रेसी उनसे मिली हुई है। आप बताइये सीने पर हाथ रख कर कोई मैन्यूर पार्लियामेंट कह दे क्या एक एम0 पी0 का चुनाव 35,000 रु0 में होता है? नहीं। फिर कहां से जाता है पैसा जो लाख, सवा लाख चर्च होता है, यह पैसा कहाँ से जाता है वही जाता है जो कान्ति भार्दे ने जमा किया। उनको जो 80

साथ ५० मिला, आपने तो सूरेनियर कलेक्शन जो कांग्रेस का हुआ, उस सम्बन्ध में 180 लोगों के नाम आपने गिनाये और उस पर कार्यवाही भी की, नोटिस दिये गये कम्पनियों को। 80 लाख जिन लोगों से छाया उनकी भी निस्ट दे दीजिए और उनके ऊपर भी नोटिस दीजिये। लेकिन नहीं बने आप, क्योंकि सी० बी० गुप्ता साहब कहते हैं कि उसने मुझे पूरा हिमाज दे दिया है। और जो पार्टी के लोग हैं उन्होंने चन्दा कलेक्ट भी किया लेकिन कोई हिमाज नहीं दिया। यह गुप्ता जी कह रहे थे। अब इनसे पृष्ठिये कि उन्होंने 80 लाख ५० बिना मंत्री रहे, केवल प्रधान मंत्री के पुत्र होने के नाते, इस्टाब्लिशमेंट तो जो मंत्री हैं माननीय पटनायक या माननीय एच० एम० पटेल इनको किन्ना मिला होगा? उसका हिसाब कोई बनायेगा पर वह बात भी नहीं होगी। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ फिर से गम्भीरता से विचार कीजिये।

हमारे कामत साहब को शाहू कमीशन पर बोलते समय उनको एक ही बात यादम है कि किम तरह से बरिख हून इन्दिरा गांधी और उनके खानदान का किया जाय जिससे उनकी धारणा संतुष्ट हो। हमारे बाकी के भी लोग हैं। आपको याद होगा कि उन्होंने हमट्टी डम्प्टी लिबरल गुनाई थी...

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत (होमगाबाद) : वह रंकाडे पर है, टेप पर है।

श्री बल्लभ साठे : एक रिमरिक मैं भी इनको सुनाता चाहता हूँ आपके बारे में, मोरारजीकर राय के बारे में :

मम जूठमलानी गौरी लाल, गौरीशंकर और कंवर लाल, और भाई० सी० एस० हरि, भाई० सी० एस० हरि विष्णु कामत,

Some jooth malani. Gauri, Lal, ICS Hari with much sound and fury: Signifying nothing.

Indira Gandhi they wanted to bury : Now they fret and fume in impotent rage at her renewed success and glory.

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : जवा नहीं ठीक।

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Now, to revert to the subject under discussion, it is said that Kantibhai has nothing to do with politics, he is only a Private Secretary looking after his aged father. What does Kantibhai have to say about this? A German correspondent interviewed him and this is how the interview goes on.

The correspondent asks : "Well, how do you serve your father?"

Kantibhai : "Well, you see my father is very old and he needs to depend upon some one for decision-making."

Correspondent : "surely he can consult his Cabinet colleagues."

Kantibhai : "Yes, he consults them and they give their opinion. But I usually advice him on which opinion to take."

So, Madam Chairman, Kantibhai has no role at all !

इस्पात और खान मंत्री (श्री बीज पटनायक) : यह कहाँ से पढ़ रहे हो ?

श्री बल्लभ साठे : German Magazine कांति भाई कोई रोल भड़ा नहीं करते वह तो केवल श्रवण कुमार की तरह पिता की सेवा में लगे हैं। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि कोई दूध का घुला नहीं है, कोई यह नहीं कहे कि holier than thou आप तो खाली करमान के तुलने हैं, मुझे की जो बुनियादी बात है, मैं आपकी भाँकत कहूँ तो सवाल का हल निकाला जा सकता है। नहीं तो वह तो हंस रहे हैं कि अच्छा मीठा है, तुलू, मँ-मँ हो रही है। ज़ुतम पैजार में लगे हैं और जब बकना धारणा तो चन्दे के लिये हमारे पास धार्यो। वह जानते हैं, हंस रहे हैं, आपका मञ्जील उड़ा रहे हैं।

आप एक दूसरे पर कीबड़ उछाल रहे हैं। आप इस बातका से मत देखिए, राजनीति बह रही है, पट्टी पर से फिर से उतर रही है।

Our whole national debate is getting derailed on non-issues. Believe me, the biggest non-issue was Indira-baiting. Now it is coming home. It has started against each other in the Janata Party itself. This cancer will grow. I beg of you, I beg of my friends through you, Madam Chairman, to consider this issue in this larger perspective and gravity and approach it with that basic approach of removing the system which corrupts and which corrupts all individuals. And as long as that system prevails you cannot undo corruption by just passing this resolution or some law. Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah) : Madam Chairman, though the resolution expresses concern in the future of parliamentary democracy by the increasing role of money in elections but mainly the discussion is centering round charges of corruption against Kanti Desai. These two aspects I want to deal with separately.

I do not blame them because they are out to utilise every occasion to discredit the Janata Government and the Janata Party and to take maximum political advantage of it. My accusation is against the Janata Party and the government and Mr. Morarji Desai himself because the Prime Minister should not have given any scope. Wherever any charge of corruption



[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

comes and when it comes in a concrete form, he should have faced it with some form of inquiry. If, without that, the Prime Minister comes to defend the son, it links up the old tradition. Here a tradition has developed that sons and daughters of Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers have become the real reasons of the exist of the Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers from the scene of political life.

**SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR** (Trivandrum) : That is why Bengal has always chosen the bachelors.

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE**: Now is the time for the Janata Party Government, the Janata Party as well as the Prime Minister to defend their image before the public life. They should come forward to have a probe on every case wherever any concrete charge of corruption comes and, if that charge is proved, the Prime Minister and the Government should take proper steps and fully dissociate with those actions and defend the integrity, honesty, purity of the party and the position the Prime Minister is holding. When again and again this type of complaints and charges come, they should be met with proper enquiries otherwise the entire attention of the House and the whole country will be engaged and diverted into those issues and only this will be a common talk before the public, while the government gave no time, no attention, to the basic problems of the people. Only these issues are getting primacy. That is why we told in the past also that whenever the question of the letters came up, we had told the Prime Minister to lay the letters on the table. Let the public see what is there in the letters. If there are charges, that should be subjected to be probed. Now, it has been declared by the Prime Minister that if there is a concrete charge and if any Member is prepared to give it in writing, 'I am prepared to forward it to the Judge of the Supreme Court.' I would urge upon the friends here to give them in writing and offer to the Prime Minister the scope to test this declaration. Let him forward that to a Supreme Court judge and let it be probed. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SAUGATA ROY**: Whether it applies to the foreign transactions also?

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE**: That the judge will decide.

Madam, Chairman, whenever the friends bring these charges, they pose themselves as if they are the real fighters against corruptions. Look at their own background. They must be self-critical; they must be honest.

**SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH**:  
The less said the better.

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE**: Before starting accusing others, their attention should be drawn to the issue of Blitz, last year, April 16, 'The whole headline is: 'Congress Looted Crores from State Bank'. It is alleged—I am reading.

"It is alleged, for example, that Varadachary personally carried Rs. 9 crores in tin boxes to Malda, from where former Banking Minister was contesting the Lok Sabha elections....

Shri Dinesh Joarder is here. He defeated Shri Pranab Mukherjee.

".....as well as Rae Bareilly and Amethi, Indira and Sanjay Gandhi's constituencies, and supervised the cash handouts to voters."

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN** (IDUKKI):  
Shah Commission was there.

**SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE**: No please be self-critical. Don't absolve yourself of the responsibility. You never raised your voice against this type of corruption. (*Interruptions*)

My accusation is that you never raised your voice against corruption. Now you become the critics of corruption. (*Interruptions*). Lakhs are spent on posters.

I quote:

"Two of the premier financing units, the State Bank of India and the LIC, were horribly muled in a Mafia-like operation. Dissenting officials were sacked or transferred and the compliant one's given undue promotions and extensions.

After State Bank Chairman Talwar was brusquely edged out of the job, his successor T. R. Varadachary was forced to pull crores out of the Bank's funds to finance the Ruling party's election campaigns.

Insiders claim the money was collected from the banks' customers who were given generous overdrafts and forced to part with a substantial percentage off on pain of withdrawal of all facilities in future. In the process the bank's till was severely drained.

To get an extension of service, Chairman Varadachary was further compelled to please the Banking Minister by giving huge advances to certain parties. In some cases the advances were handed over even before processing the documents, and in other cases before the signing of the agreements."

After the election were over they tried to regularise these in bad debts. There are other details also but I am not going into them. I simply want to draw the attention of the hon'ble Members who have now brought these accusations—I am not opposed to bringing accusations—if they are sincerely interested in fighting corruption then they must start from their own self. (Interruptions)

SHRI G. M. STEPHEN : Let us begin with the four CPI (M) Ministers against whom corruption charges were established by Commission of Enquiry instituted against them. (Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE : Madam Chairman, I support Mr. Sathé in one respect that this very system—under which we are living—is based on exploitation and for thirty years of Congress rule the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer and there has been concentration of money and growth of monopoly houses. For this you cannot accuse Janata party government. But we accuse the Janata party government that they are pursuing the same policy. There has been no basic change in the policy of the Janata party government. Money is being concentrated in the hands of the few. What does the Directive Principle in the Constitution say ? It says that disparity should be reduced. But what is there in actual practice. The rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer. The disparity is growing day by day. Only last month the Reserve Bank reports revealed that the monopoly houses have earned nearly 50 per cent more profit in the years 1972 to 1975. The monopoly houses know that this government is providing through their policies the scope for earnings huge profit and, as such, they are interested to keep this government in power. They know so long as this government is in power their profit earning scope will remain intact. As the people at large are being exploited and so their discontent is growing day by day. These monopoly houses know that it is becoming more and more difficult for the ruling party to get support and face the elections. That is why people must be influenced by money power, by using casteism, communalism and various other fraudulent methods.

Day by day, capitalism is faced with crisis. Day by day, money is concentrated in the hands of a few. Day by day these people's movements are growing. More and more, these big capitalist houses and the exploiting classes are bound to purchase the ministers and use them, and use their money power for influencing the voters. This is inevitable in this system. That is why, when you

talk of removing corruption, we must keep this in mind. The Government has changed. But the State machinery has not changed. The entire bureaucracy is there. You can change one officer from one department to another department. But he is bred in this atmosphere, where everybody has been forced to be corrupt. If any honest officer is there, he has to face punishment. By becoming honest, by refusing to become corrupt, he is pressurised, he is transferred or he is demoted. They are forced to become corrupt and they become part and parcel of the ruling machinery. That is why in this atmosphere you cannot expect that the entire administration will be free from corruption. That is why I say that higher political consciousness is necessary and the entire people must be aroused to fight corruption. The consciousness of the people must be roused against corruption to curb the possibility of corruption spreading in other spheres. The level of the political consciousness of the people must be aroused higher. They must get the feeling that money cannot corrupt the people. The people of West Bengal have exhibited their political consciousness. They have correctly selected as to which party they should support; they have found out which are the parties which are the agents of the big business houses and who are the agents of the exploiters. They have proved that money cannot influence them, money cannot purchase votes. Although the bourgeois parties spent lakhs and lakhs of rupees, they found that their candidates had been defeated and the Left forces had won. The glaring example of West Bengal is there. Lakhs and lakhs of rupees were spent, but the people in the villages knew to whom they should vote. In the villages landlords spent huge amounts of money. But the peasantry has been intelligent enough. They decided 'we will get the money, but we will vote for our own selected candidates. Those who wanted to influence the voters with money see that even after spending so much money their candidates had been defeated. Then they will refuse to spend money in those areas in future.

So, what I say is that the people's consciousness must be roused. People's cooperation must be enlisted to fight this system and to change this system. People's organisations must be organised and developed. Without this, there is no way out.

The Janata Party Government, in order to keep their image, must come forward and order probe whenever there is any concrete charge of corruption, particularly if those corruption charges are in connection with any relation of any Minister—

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

or in case of any relation of any Prime Minister. Otherwise, with the experience of 31 years, people automatically take it for granted that, even after the Prime Minister denying it, that man is linked with corruption. That impression you cannot remove from their mind. If there is a probe, that probe can prove that certain charges are baseless. If it is proved that the charges are valid, then the strictest punishment must be awarded to them. Then the image of the Prime Minister will become more heightened in the eyes of the people. Then only he will be capable of leading this Government and the people of the country to fight corruption. Then only his words will carry weight with the people. Otherwise, his words will never carry weight with the people. That is why we are insisting that corruption must be fought ruthlessly. The Janata Party has given pledges to the people before elections that they will fight corruption upto the last. So, I demand that they must come forward with this proposal: Whenever there is any corruption charge against any Minister or any relative of a Minister, they must immediately order a probe. They must place before the country the results of such a probe. That alone will heighten the image of the Janata Government. Otherwise, looking at the way you are fighting among yourselves, you will also have to face the same future which the Congress had to face. That is why I give you a most serious warning that you must re-think and remodel and reorient your entire method of functioning.

With these words, Madam Chairman, I would tell the House that the question of fighting corruption should be taken up seriously and due weightage must be given to the various points made by me.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Mr. Chairman, after hearing the mutual recrimination from both sides and after so many stinking skeletons have come out of the cupboard, I think, no persuasion would be required on my part for the House to accept a very constructive suggestion which I have put forward in the shape of my amendment. In my amendment, I have said:

"add at the end—

'and recommends to the Government to bring forward expeditiously legislation by which all political parties in the country should be registered under the Registration of Societies Act, 1860 (as amended up-to-date) and should maintain accounts of all their receipts revealing their sources and expenditure supported by stamped vouchers and publish annually a statement of receipts and expenditures duly audited and

certified by a chartered accountant which should be published in the Gazette of the Government of India."

There would be no two opinions that it is a matter of great concern that these are undemocratic intrusions which have been susceptible to pernicious influences. It is said that in some countries power flows through the barrel of the gun, but in this country, we know that power flows through money bags during elections. The poverty and ignorance of the voters are fully exploited. After the elections, they start engineering defections, indulging in political horse trading and in forming minority Governments. In my thirty years of active political life in every case, I know that while submitting my election expenses return, I have submitted a false return. I admit this myself and it must be true in the case of every Member in this House.

Money and politics are two sides of the same coin in this country. In last September, the Government released a list of 180 companies, who had paid Rs. one lakh and above for advertisements in the souvenirs of the political party then in power. We would also like to know the quantum of money collected from the various sources, along with the sources, by the present ruling party in this country. Money and politics have always have a adulterous relationship; it is illegal and exciting. Despite various pious statements full of morality, politicians do take money from rich people and from the various companies, and in return they promise them favours. Most of the money flows from the unaccounted black money and this money is syphoned to the coffers of the political parties in a very clandestine way and under the table. In this House, there has been a debate in the past how the CIA and KGB money has played its role in patronising the various political parties having clandestine relationship either with CIA or KGB.

In this regard, I take this opportunity to quote a few lines from the latest book "Rescue Democracy from Money-Power" by Shri Rajagopalachari. It is a compilation of the various articles written by late Rajaji in "Swarajya". And the Foreword to this book has been written by no less a person than Shri Jayaprakash Narain; and JP says:

"One who weighed every word he uttered or wrote, Rajaji was a relentless campaigner for rescuing our democracy from the corrosive influence of money-power and its evil brood. As I went through his collected writings on the subject, I could not help admiring his

far-sightedness, absolute sincerity, depth and courage of conviction and total devotion to national welfare.

No truth gains currency when it is first propounded and no prophet has been spared of initial calumny and disparagement. Similar was the fate of Rajaji when he set face sternly against the conventional politics of election-winning and pursuit of pelf and power. At the time when Rajaji wrote these articles, they did not evoke the response they deserved. This was perhaps due to the then prevalent all-pervasive charisma of Pandit Nehru and the blinding force of unshared power and the all-round subservience and sycophancy it generates.

But to-day, both Jawaharlalji and Rajaji have left the scene. The nation itself has just regained its freedom from despotic rule, about the advent of which Rajaji had clear forebodings and of which he had given ample, timely and unambiguous warnings. Against this setting, today his writings acquire a new dimension and significance and call for fresh in-depth study.

His words are words of wisdom. If the plant of parliamentary democracy is not merely to survive but thrive on our soil, it is imperative to create a corruption-free and congenial climate for it till the top roots go deep into the soil." And then he mentions how it is essential that politics in this country should be freed from the influence of money. I had, in this regard, tabled a non-official Bill identical to the amendments which I have given here; and in this regard, I sent a copy of it to some persons who had taken interest in this matter. And Mr. K. Santhanam who presided over the Anti-Corruption Committee has written to me thus:

Mylapore, Madras  
6-2-78

"Dear Shri P. K. Deo,

Thank you for the copies of the two Bills sought to be introduced by you in the Lok Sabha. Both of them are important. I would however like that in the Bill for Registration of Political Parties and Publication of their accounts, you had provided for the maintenance of members' list and the constitution of the party, including the executive authorities and procedure for changing the Constitution. You may table amendments for the purpose.

I wish you success in your brave attempt. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
K. Santhanam".

Similarly, many messages have come from all over the country. I do not want to take the time of the House; but if the Government and the Opposition are anxious to have a permanent solution to this problem of corruption and to root it out from the body politic of the country, I think they should gladly accept the amendments I have suggested to the Motion so ably moved by my friend Mr. Unnikrishnan.

श्री राज नारायण : (राय बरेली) : मैं एक परसनल स्टेटमेंट देना चाहता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: देखिये, राज नारायण जी, Direction 115C says:

"No member shall be permitted to make a statement by way of personal explanation under rule 357 unless a copy thereof has been submitted in writing by the member to the Speaker sufficiently in advance and the Speaker has approved it. Words, phrases and expressions which are not in the statement approved by the Speaker, if spoken, shall not form part of the proceedings of the House."

मैं तो यहाँ भी नहीं। उभीकृष्णन साहब ने कुछ कहा, ऐसा थापको बताया गया। उनके कहने के बाद थापको अगर परसनल एक्सप्लेनेशन देना है तो बोझ सा लिख कर भेज दें कि क्या एक्सप्लेनेशन देना है। उसके बाद थापको अगर बरिस मिल जाएगा।

श्रीबरी बलबीर सिंह : प्रेसीडेंट है कि जब कोई बोझ है उसके बाद जिस के बारे में कहा गया है उसने परसनल एक्सप्लेनेशन दिया है।

श्री राज नारायण : मैं जानता हूँ क्या नियम है। अब तक के कनवेंशन के बिल्कुल विरुद्ध थापकी बात है। मैं खुद इस सदन में कई बार परसनल एक्सप्लेनेशन दे चुका हूँ। कस ही जब उपाध्यक्ष बैठे हुए थे तो एक विषय थाया था जिस में उन्होंने मुझे व्यक्तिगत स्पष्टीकरण करने को कहा था और मुझे उसका मौका दिया था। मैंने स्पष्टीकरण दिया था। स्पष्टीकरण ने भी कई बार दिया है। सभी को दिया है। जो चीज हैपेंड इन दी घाड़ज थाफ दी हाउस इमिडिएटली उसका एक्सप्लेनेशन उसी समय दिया जाता है। अगर कोई चीज ऐसी हो जो बाहर की हो किसी लेख पर आधारित हो उसके बारे में लिख कर दिया जा सकता है। लेकिन यहाँ धामने सामने की बात है। उभीकृष्णन साहब मिले हैं उन्होंने बताया है, दूसरों ने भी बताया है कि उन्होंने यह कहा है। मैंने फौरन जा कर श्री चित्रागंद सिंह को फोन किया है। मैंने उन से श्री श्री छत्रसाल से बात की है—

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur): I am on a point of order. Mr. Unnikrishnan,

[ Shri K. Gopal ]

in his speech, nowhere has he mentioned about Mr. Raj Narain; he only mentioned about his Private Secretary. Members cannot come before this House on behalf of their Private Secretaries.

श्री राज नारायण : मैं इतना ही कह देना चाहता हूँ कि श्री बिलासद सिंह और विश्वासलन योगाश्रम के जो डायरेक्टर हैं श्री छत्रसाल सिंह की उन्होंने कहा है कि जिम सदस्य ने यह कहा कि यहाँ से कारपेट्स नें जाये गए हैं वह बिल्कुल धनस्य है, निराधार है, बेमुनियाव है, झूठ है और अनुरोध है कि या कर नाग बूक को देखें कि क्या सामान गया है और क्या नहीं गया है ।

मैं समझना था कि हमारे मित्र मञ्जन हैं और बिना इनक्वायरी किए हुए, जांच किए हुए, झूठी तरह से किसी बात को बोलेंगे नहीं । मैं उनके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से धनस्य आरोप लगाना बहुत अनुचित है । जो घादमी सदन में नहीं है उसके विरुद्ध इस तरह से आरोप लगाना संसदीय परम्परा के विपरीत है ।

मन मनीन तन मुन्दर ऐसे ।

विष रस भरा कनक घट जैसे ॥

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Baula-gara): Do not pretend. He pretends to be an angel.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I must say that it is not right.

श्री राज नारायण : मैं कन विष कर भी दे दूंगा। घब तो हो ही गया है ।

समासित महोदय : अगर आप यहाँ बैठे होते और कोई माननीय सदस्य बोला, और आप नुस्ख उठ कर एम्प्लेनमेंशन देने तो बान मयज्ञ में घा मकनी थी। अब तो कर्तुबर्सी हो गई है। वह कहते हैं कि आपका नाम ही नहीं लिया गया है, आपके लिए कुछ कहा ही नहीं गया। ऐसी परिस्थिति में उचित यही होगा कि जो भी कहा गया है उसके बारे में आप स्प्रीकर को विष कर देने देंगे। जो उन्होंने कहा है वह रिफांड में आ गया है। आप जब लिख कर देंगे तो उनकी देख कर आपको स्प्रीकर माहद इजाजत दे सकते हैं ।

श्री राज नारायण : अभी तो जो कहना था मैंने कह दिया है। आपकी आशा जिरोघार्थ करता है। कन जो आप ने कहा है मैं लिख कर दे दूंगा। आज जिनका कहना था मैंने कह दिया है ।

मन मनीन तन मुन्दर ऐसे

विष रस भरा कनक घट जैसे ॥

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (CHANDI-GARH) : Mr. Chairman, I am thankful

to you that after all you thought of calling me. There is a general practice that one Member from the Opposition and one from the Ruling Party should speak. But, this time, probably the rule was changed to accommodate the Opposition.

I am grateful to the mover of the Resolution that he tried to raise the level of the debate by changing the notion from individual corruption to the general approach to the problems of power politics and money politics.

The Resolution says :

"This House is of the opinion that increasing play of money power in elections pose grave threat to the future of Parliamentary Democracy as evidenced by the recent revelations of collection..."

The first part really points to the malady. What is to be sorted out has been mentioned by Mr. Unnikrishnan. But, he confined himself to citing a few cases, and did not attack the problem as a whole. He refers to the recent weeks and months. What about the present and what about the future ? This is not a new thing. When Dr. Rajendra Prasad retired as President, he gave a valedictory address in the Central Hall. In that he referred to the money power and he said that money power was taking over, was taking hold of politics in India and unless something was done about that, the elections would become a farce and ultimately power will go into the hands of those who have money power as well as physical power. Babu Punushottam Das Tandon addressed the Lok Sabha and he referred to the danger of money power taking over the politics in India. So, it is not a new thing. We have not learnt the lessons. While Mr. Unnikrishnan was speaking, I was expecting that he would refer to the perspective, to the whole problem and say how things could be solved. It was refreshing to hear Shri Unnikrishnan, and I hope, he will not mind if I refer to the AICC meeting. I wrote a letter against black money power and I pointed out how black economy was taking over, how black economy was leading to black politics. I am referring to what was happening in the Congress and then some friends challenged me. .... (Interruptions). I do not want to name any friends. It was done first in the Delhi AICC and secondly, the same question was referred to in the Gandhinagar session. When I said that some delegates had told me that the price of sugar was increased because we took money from the sugar barons, thirty-two Members of the Congress Party spoke against me as if I was talking blasphemy. It is refreshing to note now, I will be glad if he joins in the crusade for the total

eradication of black money and black money power. There is nexus between black money and black politicians, black bureaucrats and the black businessmen. Unless that nexus is broken nothing can be broken. And that starts, as he said, from the election processes. We have to examine whether by merely attacking black money and black politicians we can eradicate the whole nexus and really remove the black money from the country. Kindly analyse the situation. At that time in the Congress Party I was referring to certain figures and I wrote three articles in the *Hindustan Times* on black money power and electoral reforms. I had calculated this on the basis of my Haryana experience, a Lok Sabha constituency and 9 assembly constituencies. If you give two jeeps in every constituency, it means 18 jeeps; one jeep for the candidate and one jeep for the election agent—that comes to 20 jeeps. The rate of hiring a jeep is Rs. 150 per day; it means Rs. 3000 per day for 20 jeeps. If you calculate petrol at the rate of Rs. 100 per jeep, it means the expenditure is 2000; the total is 5000. For thirty days the expenditure is Rs. 1.5 lakhs. That is the minimum. There is no black money involved; there is no corruption, nothing. Secondly, if we leave out the slips that you give, if you send them by post to each candidate, by 25 paise covers, it means 1.25 lakh for 5 lakh candidates. The total is Rs. 2.75 lakhs. I remember that when I read these two figures in the Congress, Shri V. B. Raju who was the General Secretary said that it cost a rupee per voter, it cost Rs. 5 lakhs. Are we not playing false to ourselves by putting it at 10,000 and 25,000. Even the Tarkunde Committee which J. P. had appointed referred to 35,000 and 50,000. Why deceive ourselves? Because we are deceiving ourselves, we are not true to the economy or true to the polity. If you want to remove it, some fundamental cure has to be done. Mr. Sathe spoke and criticised that the Janata Party has done this or that. He did not refer how the political system was utilised by Mrs. Gandhi in 1977. Rs. 9 crores worth advertisements were taken for the souvenir; most of them were not published. How was the administrative machinery utilised

**TBE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAEE) :** They saved paper.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** They made the Company Law Board issue a certificate that advertisements will not be considered as political donations. Secondly, they made the Central Board of Revenue to issue a certificate that all the advertisement expenses would be allowed as deductions in the income tax. The list of donors to the Congress funds was seized on the Baroda Rayon and was

handed over by the investigating authority to Shri Mehta which was given to Shri Pranab Mukherjee and which went to Smt. Gandhi. I would like to know from Shri Patel whether the list has come or not? Is it still there?

Mr. Sathe was talking of those things, I am not talking of those things which are irrelevant.

Vimat Lal Commission is sitting there, looking to the excesses. It was given out on the basis of evidence that each candidate of Legislative Assembly was given a lakh or a lakh and a half. If that is the situation for an Assembly candidate—lakh or lakh and a half, which was given out by Vimat Lal Commission, then what about the Lok Sabha candidate? Unless we have a big thrust on the whole system of election, nothing is possible. I may like to reiterate those suggestions which I had given in 1974 and 1975 and had talked to Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan also. I said that the Tarkunde Commission recommendations will not do. What is happening to-day? The four curses of elections are—

1. Caste and community.
2. Communalism and religion.
3. Money.
4. Gunda power, muscle power which they contribute and these gundas survive according to Mahatma Gandhi only on the protection of politicians.

If politician has to be purified, if politician has to be ennobled, then the basic attack has to be on the methods of election.

How can we make people based politics and not money politics? I had given two or three suggestions. May I urge the Government to consider that the elections should be held only after giving a notice of a week, not three weeks or four weeks. There is not office of the political parties in the villages, towns, talukas or anywhere. Any political party which has worked for a period of five years will be able to face election within a period of seven days and before one month no vehicle should be allowed. The workers of the political party which have worked for whole five years will go immediately and voting will be held. This has to be done if you want people based politics rather than money based politics. Secondly, if we want people based politics and the political parties to work then let us not have any inhibition on donations to political parties, whether by individuals or by companies and all of that, like Germany should be given income tax deduction, because we want to have the political system on the basis



[Shri Krishan Kant]

political parties. Let us not dupe ourselves by closing the Company relations and we start the same donations in a much bigger amount under the table.

All the accounts of the political parties must be audited annually, not only the election account. If that is done, it will become easier to cleanse the politics. Black money starts from bad politics. If black economy has to be given a go-by....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Time is coming. I have to move for extension of time. I have to do it. This is time to do it.

I move for extension of time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is the wish of the House ? Two hours are nearly over.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Four hours.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Four hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House may sit till 7 O'clock and this will continue till 7 O'clock.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No, till 8 O'clock.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VERMA) : Not later than 7 O'clock.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Not later than 7 O'clock. Is it the wish of the House that this debate be continued till 7 O'clock ?

HON. MEMBERS : Yes. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have understood that the House wants to discuss this till 7 O'clock.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : We can discuss it till 7 and continue it tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is for the House to decide. Probably it is for the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to say whether he wants this to be concluded today ?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : Yes ; this will be concluded today. The Business Advisory Committee had recommended 2 hours. But in view of the demand, one hour more may be given. More than that we are not willing today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : May I request hon. members not to waste time on this ? Let everyone be brief and to the point. Let us try and see how much we can get through by 7 O'clock. Mr. Krishan Kant, please wind up.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Madam Indira Gandhi had institutionalised black money politics. I do not want to refer to instances, as Mr. Unnikrishnan has done, how files in the Commerce Ministry were sold for getting licences or how certain money that certain companies wanted to give were refused because she suspected that they were giving money to other parties also. She wanted to completely institutionalise the whole political system for herself.

What I am referring now is to the political malaise and how it is to be checked. I would like that this present debate should not end up having one against this man or that man or against this company or that company, but lift up the whole thing so that a situation is created where all political parties in this House will sit together and evolve a system where you can have clean politics, pure politics, on the basis of which this democratic system was evolved, according to the dream of Gandhiji. Only then, we shall be able to build up a system which will be a system of cleaner economy for the people and cleaner economy for the society.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Chandrapan :

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry) : What is the procedure you are following ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am calling the different groups one by one.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : You have to call two members from this side and one from the opposition.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : Even among the opposition parties, she is not following the order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You sent your name much later.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : That does not matter. You have to go according to the order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. If you want to speak first, you may speak. Shri Pajanor.

1500 hrs.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry) : Madam Chairman, as

usually mentioned by Members of Parliament when they rise to speak that they are happy to participate in the discussion, I am not happy to participate in this discussion for the simple reason that it is about a sad affair. Secondly, I am happy to speak after Mr. Krishan Kant because he has pointed out a very important matter. It is more like a privilege issue that we always take in this House. Without any party barrier, it is to be discussed.

I was happy to see in the beginning when Mr. Unnikrishnan moved his motion. If you read the motion there are four particular points, to which he has referred. This House is in agreement with him about the money power in elections posing grave threat to the future of parliamentary democracy as evidenced by the recent revelations of collection of huge election funds by some important persons including Ministers and those who are in proximity to high offices of power and decision making.

Madam, I am not going to restrict myself to the people who have collected money in the recent past because when I go through the Indian history as far as collection of money is concerned, it is very much embedded. If you see the history of 30 years, I think, even 50 hours are not enough for this Parliament to mention the names of those people who were concerned with this. If my revered friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan has the occasion to go to the Library, he can collect the cuttings of the papers and find out this starting from the days of Mr. Nijalingappa.

श्री कृष्ण बल कचवाल (उज्जैन) : काला घन इनके पास नहीं होता तो तीस साल तक ये कांग्रेस के लोग नहीं टिकते।

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : I can understand Mr. Kachawal. It is a matter of deep concern for every one of us. Mr. Sathe and many other Members also mentioned this and they were concerned about it. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please continue. You have only ten minutes like everybody else.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : It is a matter where we have to take serious note of. Since the Chairman is restricting my time, I take you to the *Asian Drama* by great Gunnar Myrdal. If you want to ask about my party, even before Lok Nayak J.P. Narayan, my Party leader and the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu rose against corruption within the Party. He is much against this. I do not think any person can come forward and say publicly that we are for corrup-

tion and for money power. But I want to put it very clearly that our Party has established to this country that without money also we can come to power. When our great leader, late Anna, started the Party, we were penniless and we were the party representing the poor and common people of this country. We fought against the great Congress which had big money bags, in those days. In one of the brilliant speeches in Tamil which I cannot correctly translate here, Anna said that we would make you one of the biggest money bags and the greatest industrialists of this country who sit on the top towers of this country and who come down to the common man's feet. That is our greatest achievement. We are not bothered about the number of seats that we are going to get in the Legislative Assembly. And that happened also. In 1967, the present Janata Party tried to dislodge the Congress Party but they could dislodge it in 1977. But they could not come to Tamil Nadu or Pondicherry because of the simple reason that we do not believe in money; we believe in the common people of this country. This is what I want to ask on this occasion. This money is collected for what reason? —to conduct elections as has been explained by many hon. Members. This money is utilised as explained by Santhanam Committee as speed money, to speed up the matters for which they are lobbying. I am sorry to say that it is said about Members of Parliament also that some of them are being purchased by these money bags. That was mentioned in a very clever manner, in a covered manner by Shri Krishan Kant. There are certain lobbies—sugar lobby, jute lobby. They are able to purchase Members of Parliament, Legislators to influence and direct the process to be followed up. Not only here but they are able to do it with bureaucrats also. That is the weakness of the democratic system in this country. So, if we are going to find out a solution—it is interesting to have an academic exercise in this House by means of a motion by saying that we all condemn and this House takes serious note of it. And this resolution states that. The next moment we go in for it and only collect funds. But I see that there is a difference between the present and the past. From the ruling benches, whenever they speak, they refer to the past 27 years, but there is only one difference, because you are decentralised. Like four or five parties, in a decentralised manner, you are collecting, while it was centralised in the past. But the same offence is being committed in the same manner. So, don't distinguish between the present and the past.

As far as we are concerned, we are much against corruption. It is we who

[Shri A Bala Pajanan]

started saying that corruption must go out of politics because otherwise it is impossible for the common man to come to the top. We make the commonest man the Mayor of Madras for the first time. Prior to that it was the prerogative of the rich class only to occupy the first chair of the city of Madras. Many other cities have subsequently followed it. We made a third rate fellow, according to the present-day politics the first citizen of the city of Madras, but instead of taking a lesson from that, you try conveniently to say that you will abolish donations by companies, you will amend the law etc. So many legislations have come, but nothing has happened.

As time is short, I will just read out certain passages so that they may go on record. It you take the report given by Gunnar Myrdal when the analyses the poverty of nations, especially in Southeast Asia, he says:

"When considering the prospects of reform in countries where corruption is so embedded in institutional and attitudinal remnants of traditional society and where almost everything that happens increases incentives and opportunities for personal gain, the public outcry against corruption must be regarded as a constructive force. This holds true even when this reaction is basically only the envy of people who themselves would not hesitate to engage in corrupt practices had they a chance, and even though the common awareness of corruption is apt to spread cynicism. As those people who can benefit personally from corrupt practices are a tiny minority, the public outcry against corruption should support a government intent on serious reforms. What the people—and the outside observer—generally demand is punishment of the offenders. Resentment stems especially from the belief that ministers and high officials go unpunished."

I think that is the main outcry now.

I am well aware of the fact that then is a lot of character assassination. I am in agreement with the Prime Minister when he says that whenever he is in power, they talk about these things, and the moment he is not in power they stop talking about them. If they were sincere, they would have taken it up even earlier. This is character assassination and so I am not prepared to associate myself with it.

But if you take corruption in general, see what the Santhanam Committee has said. You read the report. It has been there for such a long time. I do not know why the previous Government did not take note of it, and I cannot under-

stand why the present Government is also not taking note of it. Please permit me to read this passage at least :

"It is believed that the procedures and practices in the working of Government offices are cumbersome and dilatory. The anxiety to avoid delay has encouraged the growth of dishonest practices like the system of speed money. 'Speed money' is reported to have become a fairly common type of corrupt practice particularly in matters relating to grant of licences, permits, etc. Generally, the bribe giver does not wish, in these cases, to get anything done unlawfully, but wants to speed up the process of the movement of files and communications relating to decisions. Certain sections of the staff concerned are reported to have got into the habit of not doing anything in the matter till they are suitably persuaded. It was stated by a Secretary that even after an order had been passed, the fact of the passing of such order is not communicated to the person concerned and the order itself is kept back till the unfortunate applicant has paid appropriate gratification to the subordinate concerned. Besides being a most objectionable corrupt practice, this custom of speed money has become one of the most serious causes of delay and inefficiency."

This is the crux of the problem. You require money to speed up the files, to get decisions you require money. The quantum of money is the only consideration whether it is Rs. 10 or Rs. 10 lakhs or Rs. 10 crores. I am not referring to any particular person or Minister of the past or the present. For a poor man, to part with Rs. 10 may be something; for a rich man, to part with Rs. 10 lakhs may be something. The Finance Minister deals with crores of rupees. So, this is a very serious matter. This House should take it up as a matter of privilege, but sometimes we do not take up even matters of privilege in the proper spirit. But if you take up the matter, I am sure we can get out of it. I am happy that Mr. Unnikrishnan and Mr. Vayalar Ravi have brought this motion in this House so that the country will know that we are also serious about it and the country will be grateful to us and will keep us in this House without sending us out if we are sincere about it and execute it.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad) : Chairman Madam, I move an amendment, rather a substitute motion to the motion mentioned in the Order Paper, listed as amendment No. 4. My amendment to the motion is as follows:

"The House expresses its grave concern over the fact that the electoral

process as well as public life in India which was badly polluted and vitiated by an unholy alliance of political power and money power during the decadent decade, 1967-76, with its steep erosion of ethical standards and moral values, threatened to distort democracy into a plutocracy, deform 'Janatantra' into 'Dhanatantra', recognises the imperative need to reverse those morbid trends, is convinced that for the purpose the formulation of a voluntary code of conduct by all political parties is essential and urges the Government to initiate, without delay, comprehensive measures with a view to cleansing public life in general and purifying the electoral process in particular."

This, Chairman Madam, I submit is a major amendment in substance and I would crave the indulgence of the House and yours too, to speak at some length, but not at great length.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am afraid I can't give you more than 10 minutes and you have taken three minutes already in reading your amendment.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I have to read it. If I don't read it, how can I convince the House? You make it 15 minutes.

SHRI SHANKAR DEV : Madam Chairman, our Party Members are also there to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue Mr. Kamath.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : Now, Chairman Madam, I am sorry to say that though my friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan, has brought a motion of some importance before the House, yet the main thrust of his argument was with regard to collection of election funds recently, and particularly he mentioned the name of Shri Kanti Desai. I am afraid that Shri Kanti Desai has occupied more of parliamentary time during this Session than perhaps any other single person in the country. Both the Houses together, the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha, have taken more time in discussing Shri Kanti Desai's activities at various places than they have in discussing any other person in this House. It should not have been so because the hon. Speaker, when the issue was raised in the House last Tuesday, a week ago, gave a clear ruling. I am sorry that has been overlooked in this discussion. The Speaker said :

"The collection of funds for political purposes by those in power as well as those near the seat of power is likely to give rise to suspicion that there might have been misuse of official power or position. This is a political question.

Solution to such issues must be found either by enacting necessary laws or by developing appropriate conventions. This is not a matter for me."

Nor was it a matter for an adjournment motion.

Madam Chairman, I have followed the line laid down by the Speaker and, as suggested, the Government must come forward without delay to enact measures for cleansing public life in general and purifying the electoral processes in particular.

My hon friend, Shri Sathu, he has again fled. On the 12th of this month, earlier, he had fled. He makes, I suppose, a good job of it. Because, he himself said once—it was his own words—once a coward, always a coward. He said it last time, and he follows to the letter and also to the spirit, his own words. Now he is, if I may say so, a beknighted knight, in shoddy armour, of Her Extinguished Majesty, and he is not present here. Both he and his leader are absent. Though his leader has been given the status of the Leader of the Opposition, *de jure* Leader of the Opposition, more often than not *de facto* he is a misleader of the opposition. And the second in command, as I have already said, has made it a profession or vocation of fleeing the battle-field at the nick of time. He did it once and he has done it again. It is for him to consider, to decide, to mend his ways.

Now I do not wish to go into all the lurid details not merely of the elections, but of every form of corruption, because corruption is a hydra-headed monster, which has been indulged in by the Congress Governments for over 30 years. There is a saying in Hindi or Urdu, I hope I am right in saying it,

तो ही चूरे काय दिल्ली हूँ को चली ।

That applies in totality, entirety to our friends of the Opposition.

In 1971 and in 1977, and in the previous four years 1967 to 1971 during the famous or notorious era of Ayarams and Gayarams, money had to be found to finance the buying and selling on the exchange of the Legislatures at the Centre and the States; I do not know I do not wish to go into it, but money was found for that also. Be that as it may, in 1971, I remember, because some of the Congress candidates in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh had told me personally, that each of them, many of them, had received at least Rs. 2 lakhs to 3 lakhs. Out of that, some of the more enterprising once kept something for the rainy day, and did not utilise it, use it for election purposes.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

They did not mind losing and some of them lost. They used it perhaps for their own other purpose. In 1977 also the same thing happened. And the money found for these elections perhaps rained from heaven. According to some of the members of the opposition only money collected by the Janata Party and Janata Party agents came from some fishy sources, but all the money that came for the Congress Party candidates for the elections in 1971 and 1977 must have come from God himself, rained like manna from heaven. He need not go into how the money was collected.

My hon. colleague, now a Minister here, a former party colleague, Mr. Dandavate,—I was not in Parliament then in the fifth Lok Sabha, I believe, he made a charge against one of the Congress Leaders saying that money was collected by that leader, who was then a Minister of the Government, but was not accounted for and only a very small portion was paid to the Congress Party and the rest was retained by him and Shri Dandavate challenged the Government on the floor of the House to institute an inquiry. No inquiry was instituted, only that Minister was not included in the Cabinet and he was made a Governor and sent to one of the States.

You are very well aware and the House is very well aware as to how and in what manner money from the nationalised banks, some of the nationalised banks was siphoned off for Maruti Ltd. I believe some of it has come in the Shah Commission's Report, more could be said, much more could be written about this. But since you are ringing the bell, I do not think I can continue for long. But I wish to refer to one or two salient points before I conclude, I have to conclude. Otherwise, I had a number of points, and I could have gone into all this at some length to prove that democracy was distorted into a plutocracy during those years and now if there is anything at all, it is a hangover from the past, from those years, from thirty years. Hangovers cannot be cured, cannot be got rid of so soon. (Interruptions).

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : Hangover cannot be passed on to somebody else.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : There is a saying that

गराब का नशा उतर जाता है लेकिन सत्ता का नशा बढ़ता जाता है और से कर बढ़ता है।

That is what happened to them. Now they are coming in the House with stories about the collection of funds by an individual or two or three individuals. As a matter of fact, the statements attributed to certain

persons—Shri C.B. Gupta's name was mentioned here—they have been contradicted, denied and not authenticated, how they could be relied upon in this House as matters materially valid enough or good enough for a motion of this kind, I do not know. But, or course, I may make it clear that I do not hold any brief for anybody who is accused of corruption.

The Prime Minister has told the House plainly, he has told the country, the nation that if any specific charge is made against anyone, it will be referred to a Supreme Court Judge. My friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan referred to that. In the olden days, in the Third Lok Sabha when you, Madam Chairman, were also a Member of that Lok Sabha, the then Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru referred to a Supreme Court Judge a specific charge made by the party to which I had then the honour to belong, the Praja Socialist Party, my colleague Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedi and myself, we brought home a charge and we have a specific instance about an entry in the documents, in the account books of Mr. Serajuddin of Calcutta, we gave that and that was then referred to Mr. S.K. Das of Supreme Court informally; the report was not placed before the House, but Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister asked the Minister to quit the Cabinet. Who took him back into the Cabinet? His daughter, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The daughter, whose father had expelled him from the Cabinet, that daughter took him back into her Cabinet. That is the sort of example they have set.

One word more and I have done. My hon. friend, Mr. Sathe, referring to my criticism of "Her Extinguished Majesty" on earlier occasions.

AN HON. MEMBER : Extinguished.

SHRI A.K. ROY : Who was the Minister, involved in that affair

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : Pandit Keshv Dev Malaviya was involved in that Serajuddin affair. He was expelled; he was asked to quit the Cabinet after the inquiry.

So, I would also ask my hon. friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan and his colleagues, the parties in the Opposition, to bring forward such specific instances. Then, I am sure the Government will not fight shy. The Government will be really prepared to refer those specific charges for an inquiry.

As regards the Motion as it stands, nobody will have any quarrel with that. What does it say? It says, "increasing play of money power" is detrimental to parliamentary democracy. Is there any

question about that ? The play of money power is detrimental to the growth of a healthy parliamentary democracy.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I am concluding. Please don't be impatient. I appeal to you to have a little more patience. We have patiently borne the Congress Government's misrule for 30 years. Now, atleast for a few minutes more you can bear with me.

What is the operative part of the Motion ? Please read it. I do hope, you have read it. Are you reading it just now ? What does it say ? It says :

"Increasing play of money power in elections pose grave threat to the future of Parliamentary Democracy..."

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have read it once. Why do you want to read it again ?

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : It says "increasing play of money power." It has been increasing, not now, and it went to a climax in 1971 and 1977. From the year 1977, the year of peaceful revolution, it has been showing a downward trend. As far as possible, we must eradicate this evil. I am sure, the House will agree with me that, human nature being what it is, all over the world, not India alone, there are many hues and colours of corruption, and corruption of many kinds, of all kinds, cannot be totally eradicated not only in India but anywhere in the world. All that you can do is to minimise it, as far as it lies in human power. To that, our Government is committed; to that, our party is committed.

Before I sit down, I would once again ask the absent mover—his deputies and colleagues are here—and I would ask them: they have not asked for an inquiry. An inquiry was asked for by Mr. Sathé on that day on which he fled. That does not arise now. I would ask them to make a concrete issue of this and not to leave it in vacuo, in the air. It says, "grave threat to the future of Parliamentary Democracy" and it, later on, says, "as evidence by the recent revelations". Have they made any demand or request for an inquiry into this matter ? No. They are silent on that point.

I am sorry to say, this is an important motion, without any legs to stand upon, without any heart, without any head, without anything at all—it is a lifeless motion; it is a still-born motion. Therefore, I would like them to make it a live motion, a concrete motion, so that it can

be brought home to the Government. Otherwise, there is no alternative before the House but to accept my motion which I have moved already asking the Government, all political parties, that you I and all of us sit together and accept a code of conduct. That is my fervent appeal to all Parties. Let us evolve a voluntary code of conduct. *Achar Sanhita* so that all Parties may honour that code of conduct and the Government should come forward with measures to cleanse the public life in general and purify the electoral process in particular.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chandrapan.

श्री विमल चन्द्र शर्मा : सभापति महोदय, जिनके संबोधन हैं, उनको बोलने का समय मिलेगा क्या ? कुछ तो बोलिये, हाँ या ना।

श्री सचर देव : हमने जो प्रपोजमेंट्स दिये हैं, तो मुवर को चांस मिलेगा या नहीं ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chandrapan.

If you do not interrupt, we will accommodate two more speakers.

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPAN (Cannanore) : I am very happy that this motion gives us an opportunity to discuss the political corruption in our country. But I am sorry I cannot share the views expressed by some of our distinguished colleagues including Shri Krishan Kant who said that we should discuss it in a very academic fashion and that we should go to a higher plane. I cannot float with them in that higher plane because we are discussing this motion in the House in a definite context.

The Janata Party which came to power a few months ago in the year of revolution, as it was put by my esteemed friend, Shri H.V. Kamath, came with the slogan, 'We will remove corruption from public life.' That was one of your main slogans. And, to-day, we are witnessing a strange spectacle. It is not only Kantibhai Desai but the father, Morarji Bhai Desai himself and the whole Janata Party have proved to be more corrupt than any administration we ever had. (Interruptions)

श्री हुसैन अब्दुल क़ादिर : 'जनता पार्टी ने सब को करप्ट किया है,' इन शब्दों को निकाला जाये।

सभापति महोदय : देखिये, आप बैठ जाइये, अब आप बोलें, आप अपनी तरफ से उनको बचाव दे दीजिये। यह उनका अधिकार है, जो उनके मन में है वह बोलें। यह कोई प्रन-पार्लियामेंटरी नहीं है।



[समापति नहीं हो पाई]

को आपके मन में है, जब आप जवाब दें, तब कहेंगे। इस तरह से इन्टरप्ट न करें। इस तरह से कैसे काम हो सकता है ?

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** I do not know why they are shouting. Perhaps the shoe pinches. If the shoe pinches, then those who feel the pain of it, may get up....

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Proceed with your speech. Do not waste your time.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** Please call the House to order. How can I speak in this way ?

I am telling out of certain facts. There are certain facts to prove that. We in this House heard about it.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछावर : आपके दाँत खाने के छोर हैं, दिवाने के छोर हैं।

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** I can shout better than you. You are a little bit older than me.

We have heard about Kantibhai Desai and his money collection. Not that I said it. The Treasurer of the Janata Party said that he authorised him to collect Rs. 90 lakhs. Not a matter of joke. He did not deny it.

When the whole world said that the Party is corrupt and the Prime Minister's name is in mud, an after-thought dawned on him and then he denied. We heard it from your leader, Shri Madhu Limaye, Secretary of the Janata Party who wrote that letter saying Rs. 90 lakhs but when he was asked in the Central Hall 'Do you confirm or deny?' he did not have the guts to say that 'I don't deny or confirm it'. (Interruptions) No more shoutings will help.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI :** Please keep quiet.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** What does it mean ?

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI :** If the Congress is corrupt, you are also corrupt.

**SHRI A.K. ROY :** They are corrupt, they are corrupt—we are not corrupt.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** Madam, Chairman, they are not allowing me. That time should not be counted against me.

What was the period in which these collections were made. What was the amount collected ? They came in power after the last general election and the Assembly Elections. In three months

time, Rs. 90 lakhs of rupees in ninety days Rs. 90 lakhs. For them one lakh does not matter. But it is on record. Here is the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha where one of the former ministers, who died—he became the President—the late Shri Fakhuddin Ali Ahmed is answering question No. 9812 on 13th August, 1968, gave certain figures of collection. (Interruptions) Why are you getting so much excited (Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** May I request you all to let him proceed ? Please continue, Mr. Chandrappan.

**SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN :** Madam, it says that within the period from 1st March 1962 to 20th February 1968 they compiled the figures, the money given by various companies to political parties, accounted money—unaccounted money is not included. It says :

"The Congress Party received Rs. 2,05,22,798."

The Congress stood very good. They were Number 1. Then came Shri H.M. Patel's party, the Swatantra Party at that time—

"Rs. 46 lakhs." (Interruptions)

Why are you reducing it to Rs. 20 lakhs. I am reading:

"46,02,563/-; then came Praja Socialist Party with Rs. 66,000/-."

Like that it goes on. What I am saying is (Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Please continue.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** How can I continue if so many people are interrupting me ?

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Do not take any notice of it. You continue your speech

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** I am continuing. I am trying not to listen to them (Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Please let him proceed. Don't waste the time of the House.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN :** The point which I am emphasising is that there is a corrupt system. I agree with those who said that a capitalist system is corrupt. The Leader of the Janata Party or Lok Nayak said that he would wipe out the corruption. The people changed their place. When they were sitting there, these Congress people, when they were sitting there, they could collect Rs. 2 crores very easily. And to-day

when the Janata Party is sitting there wearing the garbs of angels trying to flutter the Heaven, they could also collect and they even broke all the records. This is what I said. It is not the only story of this country (*Interruptions*). They collected Rs. 90 lakhs in 90 days. Madam, then comes the father. As a person, I do not like that our Prime Minister is known as the corrupt Prime Minister. This is not something to be proud of for any nation. But the Prime Minister is sitting silent. On his face we are asking everyday "Did you write that letter?" Even to-day Shri H.M. Patel said that he wrote that letter to the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister successively from Shri Vengal Rao to Dr. Chenna Reddy, asking for exempting the former Raja—Raja of Challappalli of 2,000 acres of land. So, the father is not better.

Madam Chairman, corruption is there. It is not a new thing. From 1961 onwards the country was worried about political corruption. In 1952 elections, 1957 elections, 1967 elections and in 1971 elections the capitalists were very clever. They knew whom they should butter. Here, with your permission, Madam Chairman I would like to quote a portion of what Mr. Tata said in his affidavit in a court in Bombay. In this case one of the share-holders of the Tata company had questioned the right of Tata company to change their Article of Association to enable them to donate Rs. 10 lakhs to Congress Party. He challenged it in a Bombay court and then Mr. Tata gave a very interesting affidavit in the court. He said that it was in the interest of the company that I gave donation. The share-holder said that my interest is not looked after by giving Rs. 10 lakhs. Mr. Tata said that you do not live in this world. It was to safeguard your interest and to promote your interest and to enhance your profit that we are giving money to this party. And today these people are sitting on this side. I do not say that they are absolutely useless. But for practical purposes for Indian monopoly houses they are second in the list whereas Janata party is at the top and they will get anything. It is only a question of stretching their hand.

AN HON. MEMBER : Are they not stretching ?

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPA : They are. Otherwise how would you explain a man, who is not even a public man, who is only a businessman, Shri Kantibhai Desai, can collect Rs. 90 lakhs in 90 days. It is because he is the son of the Prime Minister and he is living with the Prime Minister and he is the one—according to everybody—who advises the Prime Minister on important matters. So,

he has a price and the Indian capitalists are ready to pay that price and that is what is happening.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPA : While concluding, I must say that I am sorry I could not make the Janata benches so happy but I must tell the House one thing that those who came sixteen months ago—in the year of revolution—chanting a song about anti-corruption today we are seeing them sinking in the mire of corruption. They are standing in the dock in the other House. Let us not forget that. The other House is equally a part of Indian parliamentary democracy. It has put the Janata party in the dock. (*Interruptions*)

It has asked them to appoint a parliamentary committee or a commission to probe into the corruption charges. It is a matter of shame that our Prime Minister went and said : You give in writing, if you have a definite allegation. I will send it to a judge. It is much bigger than what Indira Gandhi did when she flouted the Allahabad High Court judgement.

Then, Madam, it was expedient ..

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please resume your seat. I have called Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta.

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPA : It was then expedient for Mrs. Indira Gandhi to say "I don't care for the Allahabad Judgment ; the people are with me." But today what happens ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly conclude.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA : Madam Chairman, by flouting the decision of the other House, Mr. Morarji Desai and his Government today stands in the dock of the people. If you want to remove poverty, to the extent it is possible under the present system, you have to bring about radical electoral reforms and there should be proportional representation.

MR. CHAIRMAN : How can it go on like this, if you take so much time ? How will others get time ?

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPA : Madam, I have not taken so much time as some others have taken. There should be radical electoral reforms and proportional representation. Part of the essential part of the election expenditure should be borne by the State itself as was suggested by Shri Vajpayee when he was sitting here in the opposition. If that proposal is accepted, to the extent possible in our system today, we may succeed in

[Shri C.K. Chandrappan]

rooting out corruption; but, so long as capitalism remains, corruption is also bound to remain in the body-politic of this country. Thank you.

SHRI NIRMAL CHANDRA JAIN : How long will you manage ? It is already 6-50. Mr. Unnikrishnan has to reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will conclude by 7 O'clock today, and continue for one hour at 3.30 p.m. tomorrow, in which one or two speeches can be made and the Minister will reply and then Mr. Unnikrishnan will reply. It is not possible to extend the House after 7:00 p.m. today according to the hon. Minister.

श्री कंचर लाल गुप्त : Please extend it up to 7:05 so that I may get sufficient time.

सभापति महोदय, जिस समस्या की तरफ उमीड़गणन की ने ध्यान दिलाया है वह समस्या बड़ी जटिल है। इस देश में चुनावों में वैसे का कितना प्रभाव होता है, इस चीज की धोर उन्हांने ध्यान दिलाया है। मैं समझता हूँ इसमें किसी पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर जितनी भी पार्टियां हैं, चाहे इस तरफ की या उस तरफ की, क्या इनमें से एक भी ऐसी कोई पार्टी है जो यह कह सके कि हमने चुनाव में झूठ मनी का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया? मैं इमान-दारी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ, कि चाहे कांग्रेस पार्टी हो, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हो, मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टी हो या कोई भी दूसरी पार्टी हो, कोई भी ऐसी पार्टी पार्टी नहीं है जो कह सकती हो कि हमने चुनाव में काले धन का प्रयोग नहीं किया। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, यह सवाल सारे देश का है और उसी स्तर पर इसको सुलझाना चाहिए। मेरा कहना है कि केवल भारत का ही सवाल नहीं है, जितनी भी डिमोक्रेटिक कंट्रीज हैं सभी में वैसे का प्रभाव चुनावों पर होता है। अमरीका में, इंग्लैंड में, जर्मनी में, सभी जगह पर इसका प्रभाव होता है। लेकिन भारत बुकि गरीब देश है इसलिए यहाँ पर इसका प्रभाव ज्यादा होता है। लेकिन मैं यह नहीं मानता हूँ कि केवल वैसे से चुनाव जीता जाता है। अगर वैसे से चुनाव जीता जाता, तो इन्दिरा जी की हार कभी नहीं होती। इन्दिरा जी के पास जितना पैसा था, उस के मुकाबले में जनता पार्टी जब पैसा ही नहीं हुई थी, उस समय कितनी जोर से उस की विजय हुई—इस का अर्थ है कि केवल वैसे से चुनाव नहीं जीता जाता, उस के लिये जनता की सपोर्ट भी चाहिये, प्रोग्राम भी चाहिये, दूसरी चीजें भी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं इस बात की जरूर मानता हूँ—कि हमारे गरीब देश में वैसे का प्रभाव बहुत रहा है। जब से, 1947 से लेकर आज तक हमारे लोग इस के लिये कोशिश करते रहे। उन्होंने कम्पनीज के ऊपर पाबन्दी लगाई ताकि वे डोमिनेन्स न वे सकें, लेकिन जितनी कोशिश आज तक की गई, जिस का प्रभाव उस्ता

ही हुआ है। जितना प्रभाव काले धन का चुनाव के ऊपर पहले था, आज उस से कई गुना ज्यादा है, क्योंकि धन क्या होता है—ये जितने बड़े-बड़े बिज-बिजनेस-हाउसेज हैं, इन की कम्पनियां पैसा नहीं वे सकती हैं, तब उन से कहा जाता है कि अम्बर-पि-टेबिल दे दीजिये और इस तरह से अम्बर-पि-टेबिल करोड़ों रुपया इकट्ठा किया जाता है। उन को भी करस्ट किया जाता है और अपने आप को भी करस्ट किया जाता है, पार्टी को भी करस्ट किया जाता है, वर्कर्स को भी करस्ट किया जाता है और चरित्र का हनन होता है।

इस लिये मैं कहूंगा—मंत्री महोदय, आप ने कंपनी ला में जो प्रावधान किया है कि कोई भी कंपनी पैसा नहीं दे सकती, इस के ऊपर दोबारा विचार करने की जरूरत है। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस पर दोबारा विचार कीजिये, इस को सेकेण्ड-बाट दीजिये और उस में एक मैक्सिमम लिमिट लागू कर दीजिये कि कंपनी 30 हजार या 50 हजार रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं दे सकती। लेकिन जो अम्बर-पि-टेबिल पैसा दे, उस का प्रासीक्यूशन होना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह चीज संभव नहीं है—जब तक पब्लिक-प्रोपियन और पॉलिटीकल पार्टीज का अपना कोड-ऑफ-कंडक्ट न हो। जब तक हम सोप नुड ठीक नहीं होंगे, तब तक इण्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को दोष देने से कुछ नहीं होगा। उन को तो लाइसेंस लेना है, वे तो धातें ही रहेंगे और जैसा बन्दप्पन साहब ने अभी कहा—जो पैसा टाटा ने दिया, उस से कई गुना ज्यादा उस ने ले लिया—वे तो पैसा देकर फायदा उठावेंगे ही। इस लिये मेरा कहना है—जब तक कोड-ऑफ-कंडक्ट पॉलिटीकल पार्टीज अपने लिये नहीं बनायेंगे, जब तक जनता में पॉलिटीकल-कान्सायनेस नहीं होगी, तब तक इस समस्या का निवारण नहीं हो सकता है। यह बीमारी बढ़ रही है और तेजी से बढ़ रही है।

इस लिये मेरा सुझाव है—पॉलिटीकल पार्टी बैठ कर तय करें कि मिनिस्टर-बाहे स्टेट के मिनिस्टर हों या सेन्टर के मिनिस्टर हों—कोई भी हों, उन को पार्टी के लिये कच्चा इकट्ठा नहीं करना चाहिये। इस तरह का नियम बनाना चाहिये और उस के बावजूद भी यदि कोई मंत्री इकट्ठा करे और वह साबित हो जाय, तो उस को डिमिशन कर दिया जाना चाहिये। चाहे कोई भी हों, मैं यह बात सब के लिये कह रहा हूँ। मैं कोई आरोप या प्रत्यारोप नहीं लगाना चाहता, लेकिन यदि पब्लिक साइफ को स्वच्छ करना है, यदि आप चाहते हैं कि पब्लिक-जीन के ऊपर लोगों का विश्वास बना रहे, तो यह जरूरी है कि कोई भी मंत्री पार्टी के लिये या किसी के लिये भी पैसा इकट्ठा न करे। मैं यह जानता हूँ—पार्टी के नाम से पैसा पार्टी के लिये भी इकट्ठा होता है और अपने लिये भी इकट्ठा होता है।

दूसरी चीज, मैं जवाब नहीं देना चाहता—  
प्रभी मेरे भाई बोल कर चले गये—हम ने स्लोगन  
लगाया था। ठीक है हम ने जल्द स्लोगन लगाया  
था—पब्लिक लाइफ में प्योरिटी लायेंगे। मैं पूछना  
चाहता हूँ—किस ने वह स्लोगन नहीं लगाया  
था, क्या आप चाहते हैं कि पब्लिक लाइफ में  
प्योरिटी नहीं रहनी चाहिये? अगर सचमुच में  
हमारे बारे में यह क्या है कि हम करण्टे हो  
चुके हैं, तो जनता को हमें हटा देना चाहिये—  
इस में कोई दो रास्ते नहीं हैं, लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री  
जी ने स्पष्ट कह दिया है—मेरे परिवार के ऊपर  
या चरण सिंह जी के परिवार के ऊपर—आज तो  
उद्योगपति जी ने राजनारायण जी के बारे में  
भी कहा है, मैं उन को भी उस में शामिल करता  
हूँ—या कोई धीरे हो, किसी के खिलाफ बह  
लिखित प्रमाण के साथ लिख कर दें तो एकवारी  
होनी चाहिये। कोई हो, इधर से हो, उधर से हो  
अगर कोई लिख कर के स्पेसिफिक चांजि दिये जाते हैं  
तो उसकी इन्क्वायरी चीफ जस्टिस से हो। मैं समझता  
हूँ कि इसके बारे में कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है। इस  
तरह से आप पोलिटिकल कंसाइडरेशन से कुछ भी  
कहने जाइये, राज्य सभा में हुआई देते जाइये,  
मेरा कहना यह है इस सब को चीफ जस्टिस  
पर छोड़ दीजिए। किसी बारे में भी यहां बोलने  
का जो हमारा अधिकार है, उसका मिमयुज नहीं  
होना चाहिये। आप बाहर बोलिये, लिख कर  
दीजिए ताकि दूध का दूध और पानी का पानी  
सामने आ जाए।

समापति महोदय, मेरा एक कंक्रिट मुद्दा  
है कि इलेक्शन फाइनेंसिंग का सारा सिस्टम रिव्यू  
होना चाहिए। एक गरीब भादमी आज चुनाव  
नहीं लड़ सकता है, पालियामेंट का मेम्बर नहीं  
बन सकता है। मेरा मुद्दा है इस के लिए एक  
पालियामेंट की कमेटी बनायी जाए।

The entire system of financing the elections should be reviewed; and that should be done by a parliamentary committee.

यह कमेटी इस पर विचार करे और सारी  
बातों पर विचार करे के वह अपनी रिपोर्ट मदन  
के सामने रखे। कोई वह कंक्रिट प्रोजेक्ट सदन  
के सामने पेक्ष करे।

दूसरी ओर सरकार को यह भी सोचना  
चाहिए कि जो खर्च इलेक्शन में होता है उसका  
कुछ हिस्सा वह बर्बाद करे। जब तक यह नहीं  
होगा, तब तक मैं नहीं समझता कि कोई भी काम  
ठीक हो सकता है या इसका प्रभाव कम हो  
सकता है।

समापति महोदय, एक स्टेचुटरी प्रोजेक्ट  
बनाया गया था कि दिल्ली में पालियामेंट का मेम्बर  
दस हजार रुपये, किसी दूसरी जगह पर 35  
हजार रुपये खर्च कर सकेगा। मैं समझता हूँ  
कि इसको रीकंसीडर करना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि  
इस खर्च को बढ़ा कर दुगुना कर दिया जाए या

तिरुना कर दिया जाए। लेकिन मैं यह कहना  
चाहता हूँ कि यह इतना अवश्य कर दिया जाए  
जिससे कि इसका ठीक ठीक हिस्सा दिया जा सके  
मैं कहता हूँ यहां एक भी भादमी ऐसा नहीं है  
जिसने कि अपना इलेक्शन रिटर्न ठीक से भरा  
हो। क्रोम टाप दू बोटम कोई भी ऐसा नहीं  
मिलेगा। मैंने अपने इलेक्शन के सिलसिले में एक  
याचिका दी थी और मेरी याचिका पर फैसला होने  
के बाद श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने कानून को ही बदलवाया।  
यह कर दिया कि पार्टी खर्चा करे, नेता खर्चा करे,  
बाप खर्चा करे, बहुउम्र में शामिल नहीं माना जाएगा।  
केम्पडीट जो खर्च करेगा, वही माना जाएगा।  
लेकिन दस हजार रुपये में पालियामेंट का इलेक्शन  
नहीं हो सकता है। इसके लिये कोई संवीक्षणक हल  
निकाला जाना चाहिए। अगर हम यह नहीं  
निकालते हैं तो इस प्रावधान को ही बदल देना  
चाहिए। पालियामेंट में जाने से पहले ही हमारे  
चरित्र का हनन हो जाता है, हमसे बूढ़ बुराया  
जाता है। यह नहीं होना चाहिए। इसके लिए कोई  
रास्ता निकाला जाना चाहिए। इसके बारे में सर-  
कार ध्यान दे।

समापति महोदय, मैं पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के  
प्राइड के बारे में एक बिल लाया था। उस  
समय आपने कहा था कि पार्टियों के ब्रकाउंट का भी  
प्राइड होगा। अब तक कांस्टीट्यूशन में पोलि-  
टिकल पार्टी नाम की चीज नहीं है। अब  
एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल के कारण से वह भी कांस्टी-  
ट्यूशन में आ रही है। इसलिए पोलिटिकल पार्टीज  
के ब्रकाउंट्स पर भी कंट्रोल होना चाहिए।  
अगर पांच हजार रुपये से ज्यादा किसी को दिया  
जाता है तो उसका नाम जनता के सामने भाना  
चाहिए। उस पार्टी का ब्रकाउंट भी प्राइड  
कर के जनता के सामने रखा जाना चाहिए कि किसने  
उसे पैसा दिया, उसने किसको पैसा दिया? कामध  
साहब ने जैसा कि कहा कि पार्टी वाले खुद पार्टी  
का पैसा खा जाते हैं। इससे वह चीज भी नहीं  
होगी और सब को पत लग जाएगा। अगर प्राइड  
होगा तो यह चीज पता लगेगी कि किस ब्रकाउंट  
से पांच हजार रुपये प्राया, उसका नाम ब पता  
भी सामने आ जाएगा। जो नहीं देता है उस  
पार्टी को चुनाव नहीं लड़ने देना चाहिए। इस  
प्रकार का प्रावधान कर दिया जाना चाहिये।

19.00 hrs.

मैं इसको सोधा करण्डा का सवाल बनाना  
नहीं चाहता। केवल चुनाव में करण्डा का सवाल  
बनाना चाहता हूँ। जनरल करण्डा का सवाल  
इसको मैं नहीं बनाना चाहता। मेरे पास बहुत  
से इन्स्टेंस हैं जिनको यहां रखा जा सकता है।  
बहुत गड़बड़ी हुई है जिसको सभी तक पकड़ा नहीं  
गया है। लोगों के पास इंदिरा गांधी का रुपया है  
जो पकड़ा नहीं गया है। उसमें कमजोरी हमारी  
सरकार की है। मैंने ब्रिट मंत्री को एक पत्र भी  
लिखा है। एक यूनियनिसटी का लड़का है उसके  
नाम से ब्रेड करीड़ रुपया जमा हुआ पोटल  
सेविंग एकाउंट में। मेरे पास पत्र भी है जिसको मैं  
पढ़ देता हूँ।

[श्री कंबर लाल गुप्ता]

"There are also a few suspicious deposits like those in the name of a Delhi student amounting to about Rs. 1.35 crores. It is evident that the student concerned did not have the means to make the deposits. Even if he had the resources, it is inconceivable that he could have deposited large funds in the post office for just a day or two."

This is dated 28th February, 1978 written by the Minister of State for Finance.

यह जो पैसा है इसके बारे में मैंने दोबारा पत्र लिखा है और कहा है कि इसकी इन्कवायरी की जरूरत है। मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट कह रहे हैं कि जरूरत नहीं है। मैंने वित्त मंत्री को लिखा है कि इन्कवायरी की जरूरत है। उनका उत्तर नहीं आया। इस तरह का एक कार्डेंट नहीं है। एक साल में 24 करोड़ रुपया हरियाणा के पोस्ट ऑफिस में जमा हुआ है, एक ही हफ्ते में और एक ही हफ्ते में निकाल लिया गया है।

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Who is the student?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : I do not know. He is a student from Haryana.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्ता : यह बेनामी नामों से है। मेरा कहना यह है कि यह सब पोलिटिकल पैसा है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने मेरे पत्र का अभी तक कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसकी इन्कवायरी की जरूरत है। मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट ने कहा है कि नहीं है। इन्कवायरी होनी चाहिये कि प्राब्लर क्या कहा गया, किस का है। इस सब के बास्ते मिल जुल कर एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी हमको बनानी चाहिये जो इस सारे प्राब्लेम की सह में जाए। तभी यह समस्या हल हो सकती है।

इन मामलों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

19.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, August 30, 1978/ Bhadra 8, 1900 (Saka).